PROCEEDINGS

of the eleventh

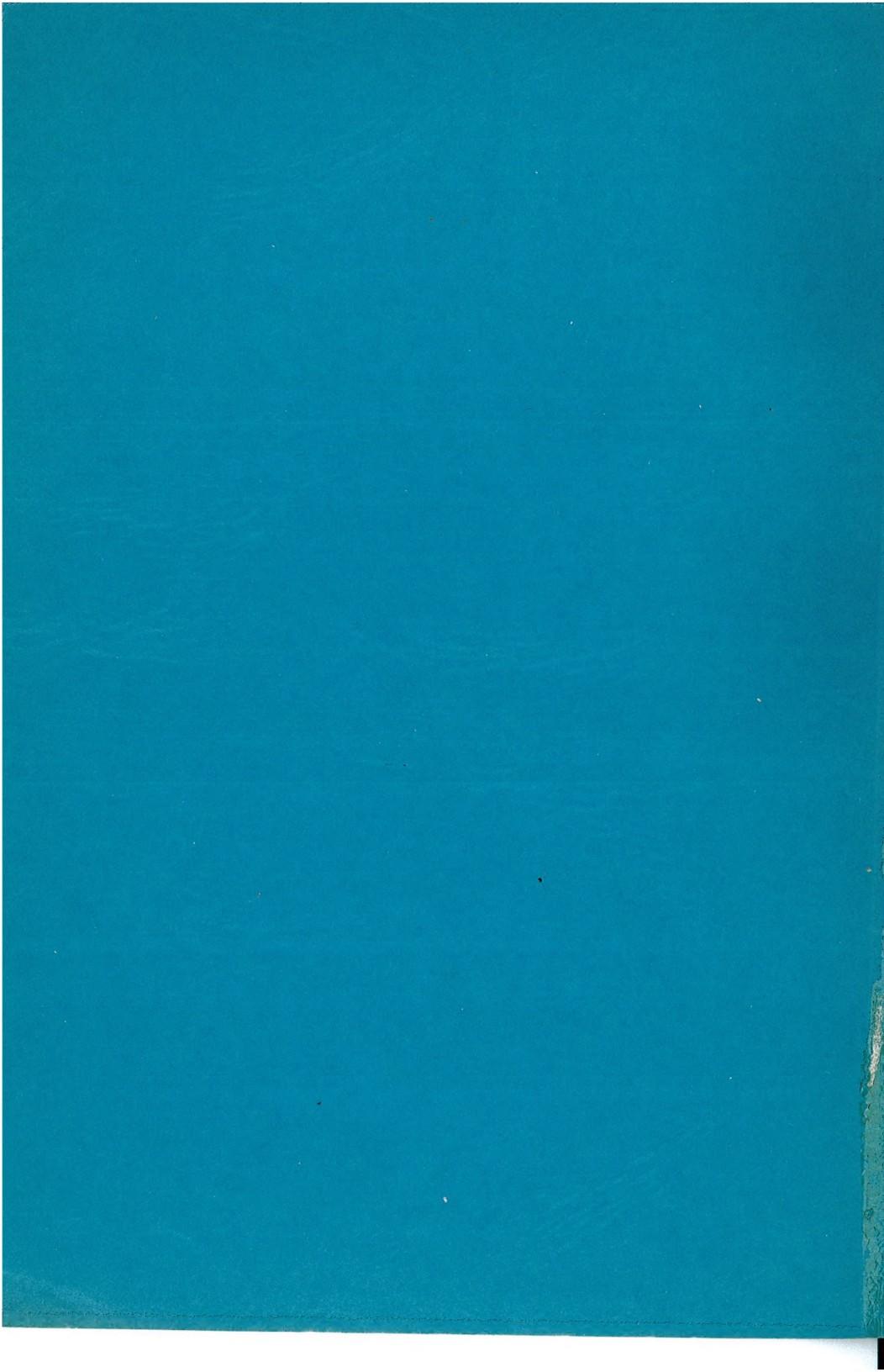# Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems

Held at

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
June 6-7, 1957

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FOREWORD

The Eleventh Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems was held on the Bethel College campus, North Newton, Kansas, June 6-7, 1957. The conference and the printing of the proceedings are carried out under the auspices of the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges. Copies of the *Proceedings* for this and previous conferences may be purchased from the secretary of the planning committee, J. W. Fretz, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

The two "Educational" sessions of the conference were devoted to the general theme of the relation between Christianity and specific subject matter fields in the liberal arts. The discovery and understanding of the issues that arise out of the relationship between Christianity and the liberal arts is always a matter of unfinished business in the church-related college. The three papers by Harold Gross, Mary Oyer, and Robert Kreider probe deeply into the issues that emerge in viewing the nature of man, the fine arts, and political science from the standpoint of Christian thought.

The increasing amount of joint activity between the several Mennonite branches is a significant current tread. E. G. Kaufman's paper deals with cultural changes and problems leading up to the present phase of cooperation between Mennonite bodies. Redekop's paper brings sociological insights to bear on the process of assimilation among Mennonites. Dr. Spaulding's paper provides empirical evidence of the trend from farm to nonfarm occupations among Mennonites in Kansas. Changes in Mennonite family life, and their implications for family solidarity and family life education, are discussed by Kauffman and Fretz.

Three papers dealt with aspects of Mennonite culture in the early Anabaptist period. All three represent careful research by the authors in the areas of their concern. The paper by Dr. Krahn is based on his excellent collection of paintings and etchings by European Mennonite artists of past centuries.

In the aggregate, the papers represent a substantial addition to the growing body of scholarly literature now available on contemporary Mennonite life and thought. If this volume were dedicated, perhaps it would be to the future students who may receive not only knowledge but also inspiration from its pages. It is hoped that the reader will gather something of the spirit of appreciation and deep concern for a rich spiritual heritage which the writers have brought to their tasks. Above all it is hoped that this volume will contribute to the larger task of building and strengthening the Kingdom of God on earth.

—J. Howard Kauffman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN

*By Harold Gross**

A Theological, Psychological, and Philosophical Preface

Introduction

My assignment in this paper, as I understand it, is to treat the Christian view of man with special attention to some of the modern day theological, psychological, and philosophical developments. This is no small assignment for so concise a treatment of the topic as the span of this paper and the time allow—not to mention the forbearance of the audience. Furthermore, considerable thought on the various aspects of this subject, combined with too brief a writing time, make for difficulties in organizing an already complex field of study. I have, therefore, taken considerable freedom in my reduction of the subject to special points of treatment, with an emphasis on a few "key ideas" or "formulating principles."

The recognized significance of the Christian Idea of Man for our day is amply illustrated by the fact that outstanding philosophers of religion and systematic theologians (notable such scholars as F. R. Tennant, W. R. Matthews, Erich Frank, John Hutchinson, William Temple and numerous others) discuss Man in their systematic treatises before discussing God. Paul Tillich would appear to be an exception to this sequence, since only in Part III of his *Systematic Theology* (which came into print too recently for serious consideration in this paper) does he *explicitly* take up Man. However, already in Part I on "Reason and Revelation" man is *implicitly* treated under the topic of "Reason"; and the first topic in Part II on "Being and God" is captioned "Man, Self and World." Berdyaev contends that "the essential and fundamental problem is the problem of man ... the key to the mystery of knowledge and of existence."[1] We will see, however, that in any systematic sense the Christian theologian still must recognize a circular relationship between his view of man and his view of God. After all, in the Incarnation God is revealed in man and true man is made known in God.

In any event, these references indicate how the traditional priority of God in theological systems has been preempted in modern thought by theological anthropology in the broadest scientific and

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philosophical sense—that is to say, next to concern over "method-ology."

While in an earlier period man's view of himself rested solidly on his view of the Divine Being, today it is hardly much of an exaggeration to say that in many quarters modern man's estimate of Deity rises no higher than his conception of the human species —though in some real sense at all times the converse of this is also the case. There are, of course, myriad reasons for this shift to man as the Archimedean point in modern thought.

It has been generally accepted that the philosopher Descartes, the progenitor of modern philosophical method, established a pat-tern, so that, as Whitehead has put it, while "The ancient world takes its stand upon the drama of the Universe, the modern world (takes its stand) upon the drama of the Soul. Descartes...ex-pressly grounds the existence of this inward drama upon the pos-sibility of error. There may be no correspondence with objective fact, and thus there must be a soul with activities whose reality is purely derivative from itself."[2] This examination of *consciousness* and *subjectivity* became the basis for the pursuit of religious and humanistic knowledge, while the dramatic, *objective* pursuit of the ancient and medieval religious thought patterns found expres-sion in modern science. Whitehead further makes his familiar contention that the modern idea of scientific law was made pos-sible only by "the Medieval insistence on the rationality of God, conceived as with the personal energy of Jehovah and with the rationality of a Greek philosopher."[3] Before the Christian period, of course, the Greeks were preoccupied with a kind of religious an-thropology, as in the Sophoclean Oedipus cycle.

This preoccupation with a doctrine of man has for some time called forth the energies and played upon the imagination of liter-ary genius of the twentieth century in a way perhaps never before equalled. Modern man has increasingly found himself on the de-fensive, what with scientific method encroaching increasingly on the domain of man's personal life and values. Modern man, who a decade or more ago was pronounced "obsolete" by Norman Cous-ins, has had to rethink his position in the universe.

Ironically, at a time when man and the earth on which he lives have been deprived of their centrality in the universe, and nature has been divested of anthropomorphic forces, the concern with man himself has become foremost in the minds of philosophers, psychologists, and theologians—and, belatedly, of scientists. While the rule of impersonal law has taken over the governorship of nature, and man in one main aspect is demonstrated to be a part of nature, yet we still speak of "A Problem of Man" in a sense that we don't speak of the "problem of drouth" or of "soil erosion."

Thus, man not only *has* a problem, but man *is* a problem! Erich

Fromm, the psychoanalyst, very wisely remarks that "while the popularity of psychology certainly indicates an interest in the knowledge of man, it also betrays the fundamental lack of love in human relations today. Psychological knowledge thus becomes a substitute for full knowledge in the act of love, instead of being a step toward it."[4] Various other fads and fancies become similar substitutes for love. This is one of the reasons for believing that a cooperative effort between religion, psychology and philosophy can go a long way toward helping modern man in his present plight.

Man in Polarity

The view of man which we will defend in this paper might be called that of "man in polarity." In 1937 Emil Brunner published his "Der Mensch in Widerspruch" which later came out in an English edition entitled "Man in Revolt." Brunner's emphasis in his use of the English equivalents to his meaning, "contradiction" and "revolt," suggests the idea of inner spiritual conflict, as well as of "judgment and of promise." The term "man in polarity" which we are suggesting, since it is a philosophical notion, should not be taken to bear the connotation of "contradiction" in the theological or psychological sense. It should rather carry the idea of a paradoxical relationship. A purely logical contradiction, which a paradox appears to simulate, has being only on the *abstract* level of the laws of logic. A genuine paradox has the appearance of contradiction, on that abstract level. However, a paradox arises out of the empirical or existential juxtaposition of two logically contradictory principles which only together give meaning to some aspect of experience—and neither of which can be surrendered to the laws of abstract logic without doing violence to that pattern of meaning. Thus, for example, while the idea of the Incarnation violates the law of 'Identity' or of 'contradiction' (viz., God is God and man is man, and therefore God is not man), it is only by maintaining God and man in a creative synthesis, with each retaining its separate identity, that the Christian *experience* of the Incarnation of God in Christ can be preserved.

The inner "contradiction" that Brunner talks about is a *consequence* of sin or an expression of the conflict of sin in man's life. The "polarity" which we are suggesting as a key-idea in our consideration of man involves the notion of two contradictory organizing principles, neither of which can be surrendered, since both are indispensable components of our Christian experience. Permit our use of the two technical terms "Autonomy" and "Heteronomy"* as projecting the two contradictory principles, neither of which can be surrendered. The suffix of each comes from the Greek word 'nomos' which means 'law'. The prefix of autonomy comes from 'autos' meaning self, suggesting the idea of 'a law to

oneself'. The prefix of 'heteronomy' is from 'heteros', meaning other, together with 'nomos' suggesting 'a law from another'. Thus we have the two principles which signify 'self-determination' and 'other-determination'. In moral and religious terminology they suggest *moral independence* and *religious dependence*. *Autonomy* suggests freedom, liberty, self-direction; *heteronomy* suggests limitation, conditioning, coercion, and the like. Both of these terms bear connotations of opposing aspects of Christian experience which one cannot afford *to neglect in an attempt to understand man.

Now for the sake of graphic representation, let us imagine two adjoining circles held together within an elipse. Let the elipse represent man's living existence; and let one full circle represent the sphere of Autonomy and the other that of Heteronomy. The two circles represent *two spheres of factors* which, pulling in opposite directions, *give shape to the elipse of life*—shape both in the form of opposition and of creativity. Our analysis of man and his life will be in terms of these sets of conditions which operate within the bi-polar tension of this elipse of his existence.

It is our belief that most great heresies in the history of Christendon have been oversimplifications of the Divine-human situation, and the heresies concerning the doctrine of man are no exception to this. Somehow the human mind yearns inordinately for neat, extremely simple explanations, within "the safety of a fixed structure of things."[5] Anyone seeking such a "fixed structure of things" in this paper will be disappointed. Rationally we know of none; and psychologically we are by no means prepared for it. The viewpoint assumed here might well be stated by Ernst Cassirer.

> Truth is by nature the offspring of *dialectic thought*. It cannot be gained, therefore, except through a constant cooperation of the subjects in *mutual interrogation and reply*. It is not therefore like an empirical object; it must be understood as the outgrowth of a social act. Here we have the new, indirect answer to the question 'What is man?' Man is declared to be that creature who is constantly in search of himself— a creature who in every moment of his existence must examine and scrutinize the conditions of his existence ... By this faculty of giving a response to himself and to others, ... man becomes a 'responsible' being, a moral subject.[6]

Our "dialectic 'conversation' in this paper will operate between the earlier described poles in what we called the 'elipse of life.' "

Now we shall proceed to consider, in turn, three pairs of polar opposites which express certain aspects of man's nature, a frank recognition of which is necessary to any Christian view of man. Oversimplifications of Christian anthropology always present one or another aspect of several antinomies, depending upon whether

the view purports to be optimistic or pessimistic with regard to man's possibilities. However, we believe that any attempt at a balanced, rational view of man's condition requires some such presentation as that which we propose.

Whether man comprehends himself in terms of subjective thought, or of objective nature, or of both, he remains within the limits of merely intellectual and theoretical contemplation. *He is always more than he is able to comprehend of himself.* While taking himself as an object, he is also the subject which apprehends and knows itself. Thus *man is forever transcending himself.* Concentration on pure theory leads him to forget his real self, his own origin. Man is not merely intellect; he is also will, love, desire, feeling; he is not only soul, but also body.... The true essence of man, the ultimate source from which his thoughts and his will have originated, he cannot grasp by a merely theoretical or intellectual vision. The root of his existence lies deeper than his thought can penetrate... *Man remains a mystery to himself.*[7]

Thus our assumption is that man is a dynamic being of mystery, and as in the case with all real, mysterious beings, our knowledge of him includes elements which seem to be in violent opposition to each other. Yet we find ourselves unable to dispense with any one of the polar opposites in the pairs which we shall present.

I. Man as Natural, Yet Spiritual

The first of the antinomies which we face is that which views man as part of the world of nature, and yet part of the world of spirit. Our contention is that man is wrongly understood when he is too simply either "Naturized" or "Spiritized." Were it not for the inevitable connotations of the world of merchandizing, we might be prone to insist that man had better be "homogenized." But this would incline our discussion toward the usual commercial oversimplification. Arrangements involving the various subclassifications under the biological or anthropological description as *genus homo* have their rightful place in the abstract categories of pure science, but we must deal with *living* man in his fullest conceivable existential status in any theological consideration. Man has been variously called, among other things, *homo faber* (the tool making mammal), *homo rationale* (the rational mammal), *homo symbolicum* (the symbol-or language-using mammal) and *homo sapiens* (the knowing mammal)—or sometimes, facetiously in modern slanguage, simply *homo sap.* While this terminology may exhaust modern man's patience and his classical language vocabulary, it by no means exhausts man *as man,* which any Christian view of him must take seriously. Speaking from the Christian point of view, we need to be wary of attempts at *reducing* man's nature to any neat, simplified essence. This is not to place a premium on complexity. Frankly, however, in Christian thought

sufficiently inclusive descriptions of man are at a premium. The "reductionists" and "simplifiers" will have their day, but the Biblical view of man, on which we must depend, is more dialectical in nature than neatly classificatory—that is to say, swinging back and forth from one basic aspect to the other in an attempt at catching the *living* man in his actual existence, much as motion picture action is built up out of a succession of minutely different exposures.

Modern philosophical tendencies have occasionally, as in naturalism and positivism, been in the direction of *reductionism,* of reducing man to an overly simple unity. However, the spirit of the great philosophical traditions is that of seeing the possibility of recognizing real unity within actual diversity and complexity. Socrates, for instance, "is not primarily interested in the unity of *Being* nor in the systematic unity of *thought.* What he is asking for is the unity of the will"[8]—that is, a *functional* unity. This of course means that a real and existing unity is conceivable among apparently contrary or opposing forces, operating within the unifying structure of man's life. Let us never forget the unity-within-diversity and—opposition which we find in nature herself. We easily forget that the natural forces which make possible the flight of heavier-than-air craft are the very same forces which make possible their plummeting to earth in tragic mishaps. The laws which govern mental and physical health are also those which make possible all ill health.

We need a unifying conception of man, but not at the expense of any single aspect of his being and existence which make him *truly man.* Much modern human psychology—though by no means all—has attempted to understand man quite apart from the philosophical and moral problems which infest his existence, and thus have violated the *holistic* principle of *viewing man in his totality.* The psychoanalyst, Erich Fromm, puts it succinctly when he says that the "progress of psychology lies not in the direction of divorcing an alleged 'natural' from an alleged 'spiritual' realm and focusing attention on the former, but in the return to the great tradition of humanistic ethics which looked at man in his physico-spiritual totality."[9] What Fromm says concerning psychology could be emphasized equally much with respect to all of the comprehensive modern sciences which deal with living man, not excluding medical science and theology. Man is in some way a *living unity* and any science or art which leaves this out of account in its approach to human life and destiny forfeits its legitimacy.

The New Testament knows nothing of a dualistic view of man such as we find in the Greek Orphic thought or in modern day popular notions of the disembodied soul. Actually "in the Scriptures the possibility of a living human body without a soul is never

entertained." In fact "it seems often to be assumed ... that for a man's soul to live his body must live also."[10]   There is, without any question, practically no indication of the Greek idea of the body as the "prison house of the soul," and none of the modern dichotomy of man into one part "Nature" and one part "Human Spirit," as is suggested in the interesting book, "Naturalism and the Human Spirit," edited by Y. Krikorian,[11] where the human spirit is a mere epiphenomenon, dependent on the body as the flame is on the candlewick.   The New Testament does not even propound the modern popular idea of soul survival after disintegration of the body.   The entire conception rests on different assumptions.   The modern dualism is reflected in a depreciatory attitude toward the human body.   This is expressed whenever, even apart from the occasion of physical suffering, death is referred to as a release from the *burden* of the flesh.   There is a kind of religious contempt in which the body is held.   In any case, this religious view of the inferiority and ignominy of man's body as over against his soul or spirit has its origin outside the New Testament or the Old, probably coming from Greek or ancient Eastern religious sources.

One of the most interesting and fruitful approaches to the New Testament teaching[12] on man is by way of a study of the New Testament Greek (*Koine*) *words* used for "body," "soul," and "spirit."   *Koine* Greek is a much richer language than our English for the making of fine distinctions of meaning.   We shall give here only a bare summary of the usages, but it will indicate the New Testament view of "body," "soul" and "spirit."

Assuming that the various writings of the New Testament present a unified—in the sense of not basically contradictory—view of the question, let us proceed by presenting the Pauline view as typical.   So far as Jesus' own sayings are concerned, we shall simply summarize by quoting a scholar who has made a rather thorough study of the matter.   He says: "Our Lord spoke Aramaic and not Greek, and the meaning of his words and phrases must be sought not in the Greek, but in the Hebrew background out of which ... he sprang ... In Hebrew though ... the word translated 'soul' regularly stands simply for the personal pronoun and means the self.   And the phrase 'body and soul', though its occurrence is rare in both Testaments, stands for the Hebrew idea that man is an 'animated body' and not an 'incarnated soul'. "[13]   (Cp. Matt. 10:28).   An excellent study by J. A. T. Robinson, entitled *The Body*,[14] is very helpful in this and other connections.   Robinson argues that Paul's conception of man is basically Hebraic rather than Greek.

But let us examine Paul a moment since he is the most Hellenistically influenced New Testament writer.   The Koine Greek has

two nouns (*soma* and *sarx*) which the English usually translates "body" and "flesh." The words translated "soul" and "spirit" are *psyche* and *pneuma*. Paul writes: "For those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the Spirit set their minds on the things of the Spirit. To set the mind on the flesh is death, but to set the mind on the Spirit is life and peace." He uses only the Greek *sarx* and *pneuma*, not *soma* and *psyche* ("body" and "soul"). This indicates an aversion on Paul's part to using words which would imply the dualistic notion of the Greek idea of man. As Owen puts it, " 'the flesh' does not stand for one part of man, such as his 'body', nor the phrase 'the spirit' for another part, such as his 'soul', the former being thought of as by nature bad and the latter good."[15] Robinson declares[16] that *sarx* is used by Paul at times to signify the entire man considered from a particular standpoint. Sometimes *Sarx*, set over against *pneuma*, is used Biblically to signify what the theologians have called 'natural man'. In these instances the reference of *sarx* is of course to man as unregenerate sinner—to 'flesh' considered not as an evil aspect of man's body, but to man as a complete being. But it might be pointed out, with Robinson, that both *soma* and *sarx* do not mean simply something external to a man himself, something he *has*. It is what he *is*.[17] Thus, to put it concisely, the terms 'the flesh' (*sarx*) and 'the spirit' (*pneuma*), when referring to man in respect to good and evil, have reference to "two different kinds of man,"[18] and not to man's 'flesh' as evil and man's 'spirit' as good. The important point for our purposes is that the antinomical relation between 'the flesh' (*sarx*) and 'the spirit' (*pneuma*) is not concerned with a dualism between body and soul.

But what of the terms 'body' (*soma*) and 'soul' (*psyche*) in this connection? We have already seen that *soma*, as in the case of *sarx*, has reference not to what man *has* but rather what he *is*. It is rather common knowledge that the Greek *psyche* is the root from which in part our word psychology is derived. In general usage the word *psyche* is applied psychologically to 'mind' as distinct from body,[19] as in the terms 'psychosomatic' and 'somatopsychic'. But the science of psychology is under no illusion that mind is conceivable apart from some kind of 'somatic' relations. Hence the scientific conception of personality involves the psyche and the soma as "interacting aspects of an organized system."[20] In modern dynamic psychology *psyche* does not function as a completely autonomous concept any more than does *soma* or 'body' in modern psychosomatic medicine.

Something of the above unity of function can be said to apply also to the New Testament Greek terms *soma* and *psyche*—which, as has been implied, are Biblically linked to each other as *sarx*

and *pneuma* are linked together. J. A. T. Robinson points out Paul's congruence with the Hebrew psychological usage by saying that in this tradition man "does not *have* a body; he *is* a body."[21] H. Wheeler Robinson, a great British scholar, points out that the "Hebrew idea of personality is an *animated body* and not an *incarnated soul*"[22] such as one finds in Greek thought. He reminds us that "Hebrew has no proper word for body."[23] The Hebrew, as the Pauline usage therefore, knows no body-soul dichotomy. It is in this respect that *soma* ('body') is used in Paul with something like our idea of personality in mind. This unified meaning is very significant in at least two respects: (1) its accord with modern dynamic psychology and medicine, as well as with existentialistically oriented philosophy;[24] and (2) its significance theologically for the problem of man's natural body in relation to his spiritual nature and destiny.

In the Hebrew language, with reference to man as personality, the word *Nephesh* "stands for the personal pronoun, and Paul usually translates this word *psyche*. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that in Paul *soma* and *psyche*, as well as *sarx* and *pneuma*, are all used to stand for the whole man, but for the whole man as regarded from different points of view."[25]

In his volume *The Body*, J. A. T. Robinson indicates quite a few distinguishable usages of *soma* in Paul, with the one common denominator—in all of these he conceives of man as a unified whole, without hint of the Greek dualism.

Let us simply note in passing that this Biblical *unity of spirit and nature* fully accords with the latest and best trends in dynamic psychology and philosophy.

Since what we call the 'soul' is the more *obviously* 'spiritual' aspect of man, it is not difficult to see that it functions on the basis of an autonomy (self-law) of its own. Neither is it difficult to know *from experience* that the body, as an aspect of nature, is capable of exerting a heteronomous (law from another) influence on the direction of the soul's spiritual inclination. Without doubt man has always been aware of these opposing, though interacting, aspects of his being and existence. Modern man, having developed with a vengeance his logic-consciousness, seems bent on dissolving this antinomy by denying one horn or other. Being unable to learn that this opposition is not merely of an abstract, logical essence, but rather one of concrete, actual existence, man tries to reduce it to a libertarianism, or blind idealism on the one hand, or to a behavioristic naturalism or positivism on the other. Man seems convinced that he cannot "have his theological cake and eat it too." Modern tension-minded, anxiety-ridden, peace-of-mind-directed man seemingly cannot tolerate a *creative* tension—creative, that is, of integrated spiritual living.

But of course the early Hebraic-Christian devotees of the "Pow-

er of Divine, Positive Living" were not aware that a creative tension was unbearable. And thus they 'ignorantly' found a way of living which transcended the antinomy—while utilizing a kind of "dynamic tension" in spiritual muscle-building which Charles Atlas never dreamed of. The Natural and the Spiritual, body and soul, lived in a relation of dynamic creativity for some thirty earthly years in one Jesus of Nazareth, who demonstrated *existentially* that Spirit and Nature can coexist within a marriage of autonomous and heteronomous factors.

II. Man as Bound, Yet Free

We have attempted to pose the problem of the mind—or soul-body dichotomy which man both pictures to himself and experiences within himself in terms of a kind of bi-polar opposition. This situation is the consequence of two factors:

(1) man's dichotomized view of his own being as separated body and soul; and (2) man's consciousness of an inner opposition or conflict of forces, partly as a consequence of this un-biblical dichotomy and partly as a result of the facts of his spiritual existence in relation to a material body in a world of nature.

Since this paper is to have both psychological and philosophical orientations, as well as theological, we want at this point to call upon one of the great psychologists of our time for a very helpful observation. Gordon W. Allport, who is a convinced Christian, and a philosophically grounded specialist in the psychology of personality,[26] identifies two primary philosophical orientations toward which psychologists, in one way or another, tend to gravitate. These two viewpoints reflect, respectively, certain of the philosophical assumptions of John Locke and G. W. Leibniz, concerning their views of the human mind. Briefly put, the difference is this: (1) Locke viewed the mind as a completely passive instrument (*tabula rasa*), declaring that nothing could be in the intellect which was not first in the senses. (2) Leibniz, on the other hand, dissented by simply adding the qualifying corrective to Locke's statement, "with the exception of the intellect itself." The complications of these two traditions are more intricate than we have time to note. However, we do want to stress the contrast of the passive intellect as compared with the active intellect in these views of man's mental nature. There are those who might be prone to criticize Allport for oversimplifying these views. But we are convinced that, by and large, he is correct in his surmise that most psychologists gravitate toward one view of mind or the other. Locke is striving to be a full-fledged empiricist; and it is no accident that behaviorists and logical positivists have obtained considerable inspiration from him. The extreme environmentalists and behaviorists have a field day with certain implications of Locke's view which suggest the heteronomous principle that it is

what happens *to* us that determines what we become psychologically and otherwise. It is by no means widely admitted that this view has come in our day to determine the type of response an increasing number of people make to their world. John Macmurray surmises that "in the bewilderment of these times of change and revolution we are apt to peer out from our different shelters and ask fretfully: 'What is happening *to* us?' It is," Macmurray says, "an irreligious question. It reveals the kind of people we are. If we had instead the kinds of minds that asked naturally 'What is God doing *through* us in his world?' we might be well on the way to receiving an answer."[27]

Now the Leibnizian tradition, in contrast to the Lockean, encourages us to conceive of the individual as the source of his actions. The *pull* of purpose rather than the *push* of environmental circumstances is what makes for responsible behavior. The problem of freedom in psychology and philosophy is by no means easily unravelled. But it is surely the posing of a false dilemma to ask us to choose between absolutely spontaneous, uncaused libertarianism, on the one hand, and completely determined response on the other. Our primary thesis in this paper is that *autonomy* (freedom, in principle) and heteronomy (other-determination, in principle) need to coexist in a creative tension. Actually, the viewpoint of a great many psychologists, sociologists, philosophers and other writers has more in common with the fourth century B. C. frame of reference in which the fates determined the destiny of an Oedipus or an Antigone, than it does with the spirit of the era which we associate with the struggle for true freedom. We were always amazed at a certain brilliant (behaviorist) logical positivist professor of ours when we observed the conscious effort he put into trying argumentatively to subdue another non-positivist professor in a seminar. It was our impression that the amount of effort deliberately expended toward that end was greatly disproportionate to the requirements of his deterministic philosophy. What intrigues us, for one thing, about the difference between Locke and Leibniz is the former's pedestrian matter-of-factness and apparently limited imaginative capacity, and Leibniz's almost unlimited ability to attempt a visualization of reality symbolically. His 'monads', with God at the Great Monad, may not make much sense to modern man—even atom-minded man—but this mathematical genius knew that symbolism is not only for the impractical dreamer.

The point we want to make at the moment is that life-centered antinomies, all of which are made recognizable by means of the highly abstract and symbolic science of logic, can really be handled or transcended by way of an even higher grade of symbolism—that supplied by religious imagination.* We are usually prone to

pose the problem of freedom in terms of free will. Erich Frank, whose philosophical and historical acumen can hardly be rivalled, declares that "our idea of free will is a religious, not a rational, concept, [since] ... its origin is to be found in Scripture and in the [Church] Fathers."[28] Whatever else he is, man is inherently a symbol-using creature. The great authority on symbolism, Ernst Cassirer, went so far as to refer to the symbol as the clue to man's nature.[29] In our view this has much to commend it. We may not go all the way with Cassirer, but we do need to recognize once again the indispensability of symbolism for rich, full living. Suzanne Langer writes that "a life that does not incorporate some degree of ritual, of gesture and attitude, has no mental anchorage."[30] And we might add "spiritual" anchorage.

Modern dynamic psychology, in addition to philosophy, is establishing the fact that we will have our symbolism whether we desire it or not. Eliminate it from consciousness and it comes out in the unconsciousness of our dreams and our ritualistic neurotic compulsions (often known as "mannerisms"). Man is not free until through rational, autonomous insight into his motivational structure he can give *spontaneous* expression to his real needs through symbolic acts; and as Whitehead has said: " ... spontaneity is of the essence of soul."[31] We need to understand the simple fact that, in some sense, all actions have symbolic value to the *actor*.

We are rational beings, but we are also emotional beings. Reason is an autonomous function in principle, and emotion is by nature heteronomous. We are not truly free when our emotions solely determine our actions. This is why the neurotic, whose emotional conflicts fester in a relatively unconscious state, has limited freedom. It is noteworthy, however, that these conflicts, at the unconscious level, cry out for symbolic expression in all sorts of strange behavior (strange only because their motivations are not rationally discerned). Persons in this condition behave heteronomously until they attain autonomous *insight* into the structure of their motives. Since even so-called 'normal' people do not have complete insight into their motives and emotion-structures, *everyone requires the therapy of symbolic action*. In fact this would still be necessary were people absolutely normal, since this is the highest kind of transcendence that can be found over the inherent antinomies which are experienced between reason and emotion. Divine worship, which is always a symbolic act, is the highest expression of a uniting of rational aspiration with emotional response that can be found. This is why every human action can and should in a certain sense be an act of Divine worship. If there is a psychology behind Mennonitism, this is certainly a part of it. All true service, in this sense, is service to God, and all acts or real service are votive acts.

But not only man's emotions are involved in his being bound by heteronomous factors. Any limitation which nature, society, or his existence as such imposes upon him sets up a conflict with his autonomy. However, genuine human freedom is not based, as popularly believed, on complete absence of restrictive and other heteronomous factors. As William Temple wrote: "Freedom is not absence of determination; it is spiritual determination, as distinct from mechanical or even organic determination. It is determination by what seems good as contrasted with determination by irresistible complusion."[32] In this respect, then, a person's autonomous acceptance of any *inevitable* or *ineradicable* heteronomous factor as *purposeful* in one's life gives that person true *freedom*. Whitehead's dictum is apropos, to the effect that "the essence of freedom is the practicability of purpose" and that "mankind has chiefly suffered from the frustration of its prevalent purposes... "[33]

The term "practicability of purpose" suggests an important aspect of our freedom, namely that of *conscience*. There has been a tendency in psychological circles to equate conscience with Freud's idea of Superego. While space does not permit full treatment of this subject, let us say that for Freudians the Superego consists in the set of rigid internalized ideals and taboos which one obtains from his environment. It has certain characteristics of what we commonly call conscience, except that it is largely negative and unrealistic in nature, functioning as censor upon the id (that collection of unconscious, instinctive desires and strivings in the individual). Our special quarrel with the complete identification of the Superego with conscience rests on the fact that the Superego is *unconscious* functionally, while the conscience must involve *conscious* justification for its existence in addition to any accompanying emotional or unconscious undertones it may have.

Conscience, we are prone to say, is one of the most used and yet least understood terms in the Mennonite vocabularly or any other. For one thing, it so easily operates as superego in disguised form. And as such, what sometimes goes under the cover term of 'conscience' is, psychologically speaking, outright rebelliousness or stubbornness.* Or it may be the outward manifestation of an inner conflict by way of what clinical psychology would call displacement, reaction formation, and a host of other devices the mind uses to handle its frustrations and conflicts. It is this sort of pseudo-conscience which has often put genuine conscience in disrepute. Even a reputable psychoanalyst like Dr. Edmund Bergler confuses the issue when he writes (after an admirable defense of conscience in principle), that "the inner conscience functions despite conscious awareness or ignorance of it."[34] Now this is partly true, since conscience does have an unconscious component. But if it were completely so, then conscience would be the repository of all sorts of conflicts not normally attributed to it.

Bergler and Fromm, as a matter of fact, seem to look upon "symptomatic neuroses, guilt feelings, depression, anxiety and a range of personality difficulties as rooted in this conscience."[35] But O. H. Mowrer, as usual, seems to understand the issue better when he says that for the "too severe" anxiety-ridden superego "treatment should . . . lie in the direction of helping the individual grow up emotionally and socially, to the point where the demands of conscience and community are *understandable* and acceptable."[36]

Without question, man is a conscience-imbedded being and any individual or group which overlooks this is set for trouble. Man is made for freedom. But freedom, as we are using the term, is the *product* of the *interaction* between autonomous and heteronomous forces—between a native capacity for self-transcendence, and a need to become positively and creatively related to other autonomous spirits within a set of natural and social limitations making for personal and social growth. Man's autonomy can find its fulfillment only as it is placed within a social context and cultural milieu which will conduce disciplined *acceptance or rejection* of specific traits and patterns peculiar to that cultural context. The socio-cultural context itself, however, must be such that the individual within it can experience a feeling of *loving acceptance*—even in the face of honest dissent from certain aspects of the culture. As experienced by its possessor, conscience is itself a combination of self-transcending rationality and conditioned emotionality or feeling. Acceptance of the individual by the culture and of the culture by the individual will depend, among other matters, on the nature of the symbolic exchange between them.

Suzanne Langer notes that " . . . interference with acts that have ritual value (conscious or unconscious) is always felt as the most intolerable injury one man, or group of men, can do to another. *Freedom of conscience is the basis of all personal freedom.* To constrain a man against his principles—make a pacifist bear arms, a patriot insult his flag, a pagan receive baptism—*is to endanger his attitude toward the word, his personal strength and single-mindedness.* No matter how fantastic may be the dogmas he holds sacred, how much his living rites conflict with the will or convenience of society, it is never a light matter to demand their violation . . . [For] constraint of conscience strikes at one's . . . whole world, humanity and purpose."[37]

One insidious fact about the misuse of rightful heteronomous disciplines in any given society, is that suppression of an individual's autonomy may go on surreptitiously under the guise of apparent good faith on the part of the official or self-appointed protectors of that society's faith and morals. Sometimes what is suppressed by a given society is held to in the highest personal moral sense by the individual whose view of action is being sup-

pressed. Moreover, clinical findings give ample demonstration of the fact that often the most ardent protectors of the faith and morals of a society are most conflict-ridden within themselves.

The principles of nonconformity and respect for conscience are too precious a part of man's constitutional needs to be allowed to continue on the basis of the unstudied application which we Mennonites have given them. The consequence of conformity to social pressures in our societies could be very damaging to the mental health, and hence to the morals of people without our realizing it.

The kind of psychological repression[38] which was thought in the Freudian era of our generation to be unhealthy was that involving the biological drives. But no less an authority than O. H. Mowrer gives us a refreshing slant on this problem when he writes that

> Many sources of present evidence indicate that most—perhaps all—neurotic human beings suffer, not because they are unduly inhibited as regards their biological drives, but *because they have disavowed and repudiated their own moral strivings.* Anxiety comes, not from repressed sexuality or pent-up hatred, but from a denial and defiance of the forces of conscience.[39]

This is especially significant, we believe, in view of the frequent tendency of much of our moral concern to be geared to the concerns of sexuality, directly or indirectly, without our being aware of it as such. While we may presumably be successfully guarding our morals on the side of sexuality, with respect to dress and related behavior patterns, we may actually be suppressing human autonomy in other moral respects. We need to be reminded that morality is broader than sexuality. Morality has to do with all *responsible* behavior, as it issues from *insight* into one's motives for behaving. In this regard *undue emphasis on obedience to 'official' religious dogma and social taboos, apart from insight into the why's and wherefor's of such ideas tends to become immoral.* We forget also that whole communities and societies can behave immorally, as well as individuals, as they require blind, absolute conformity of the individual when the welfare of the group as such is not at stake. Eaton and Weil, in their Hutterite study, conclude that "conformity and status quo, which might be important for the mental health and equilibrium of one element in society, can be a severe source of social and psychological stress for others."[40] They point out that the conformist demand of certain societies "puts the unusually gifted individual under considerable social and psychological pressure."[40a] In the "closed" Hutterite society where individuals are "carefully brought up to want little more than they can get,"[40b] the effects of social and intellectual conformity are not likely to be quite as traumatic as in the *relatively* more "open" conformist groups, such as Mennonites. Suppression

of personal autonomy by heteronomous social forces in our religious societies—often in the name of conscience itself—constitutes a problem of major proportions for mental and spiritual health.

III. Man as Sinner, Yet Saint

Anyone undertaking to express himself on the nature of man as sinner is likely to be tempted in one of two directions: either that of becoming extremely cynical upon viewing man's potentiality for self-degradation; or, on the other hand that of becoming romantically engaged in a kind of self-infatuation or intoxication over man's potentiality for goodness. And there are ample reasons for both. However, these two tendencies are quite indicative of the tremendous complexity which man is, and of the possibilities for good or ill which reside within his make-up.

Let us declare at the outset that it is no sin for man to be either finite or human, contrary to much popular usage, though as we shall see, man's finiteness occasions anxiety which exposes him to sin. At most we can say that strictly speaking man's finiteness and humanity present the *occasion* rather than the *cause* for man's sinning. Neither, as was implied in our section on man as part of nature, is he a sinner because he has a natural physical body nor because he is an emotional being *per se*. The doctrine of biologically perpetuated *inherited guilt* to the contrary, *sin* from our viewpoint is a *spiritual* dimension in human life, and inherited guilt, on our presuppositions, becomes rather meaningless. *Moral* responsibility for sin rests on man's *autonomous nature* which is itself a gift of God's creation; and, consequently, since guilt responsibility is *autonomously* acquired, such a *heteronomous* means as inheritance cannot be the basis for becoming responsible in guilt. Guilt, in terms of morality, implies responsibility for violation of a moral demand which not only comes from God, but which, moreover, is part of our very make-up as His creation. As Paul Tillich puts it, "the moral imperative is not a strange law, imposed on us, but *it is the law of our own being*. In the moral imperative we, ourselves (in our essential being), are put against ourselves (in our actual being)."[41] No so-called moral imperative and no responsibility of guilt can originate except as it comes up, as it were, from deep within the moral structure of our divinely created being.

Let us now return to the two familiar presuppositions around which our presentation organizes itself. We want to consider man as sinner from the standpoint of a twofold source of his sin: (1) *Man's autonomous nature requires that we think of him in terms of moral responsibility, since sin is a moral concept, implying man as responsible;* moreover it is in conjunction with this responsibility that man's guilt arises. One is reminded of André

Gide's modern manipulation of the famous legendary figure of Theseus, who quite in contrast with the Sophoclean Oedipus, is an autonomous, non-tragic figure. "This Theseus eventually surmounts his private griefs, and sets himself to found a great city, governed by an aristocracy of the intellect. It is an old and lonely man that we leave ... but one secure in his glory."[42]

(2) *Man is set within an existence which contains heteronomous factors disposing him to the temptation to sin.* In this last respect we recall the tragic figure of Oedipus of Greek mythology. Oedipus, who had solved the riddle of the Sphinx, pertaining to the riddle of man, becomes king and seeks out the individual whose sin has caused plague and pestilence in his kingdom. He does not realize that he is seeking to find himself; and every rational step forward brings him closer to his tragic end. This is something of a parable of the tragic state man's heteronomous existence as such, beset as he is by his finitude and other factors— including his rational nature—which seem almost to conspire against the realization of his autonomous possibilities.*

Reinhold Niebuhr, following Soren Kierkegaard, has stressed *anxiety* as "the external precondition to sin."[43] Other writers,[44] including theologians and psychologists, have written much of excellence on the subject of anxiety in relation to religion. There still remains, however, considerable confusion on the part of the public and even some psychologists as to its precise nature and its relation to sin. For instance, in a fairly widely used text called *Problems of Human Adjustment*, Lynde C. Steckel,[45] a psychologist, berates Niebuhr's statement and reveals his own theological ignorance when he asserts that if anxiety really is the precondition of sin, and "if sin is a part of man's nature," then it would appear that since "anxiety feelings are reduced and sometimes removed during psychotherapy," therefore "a reduction of anxiety should be accompanied by a reduction in sin. If anxiety largely is removed from a person ... he should be largely free from sin. This becomes difficult to accept if sin actually is 'a force toward evil *inherent* in man.' "[46]

This of course would be true if Steckel and Niebuhr were discussing anxiety similarly. However, as Tillich and others have spent reams explaining, what the theologians have in mind is more than one kind of anxiety, but especially "existential anxiety" which is the consequence of man's finiteness— his dread of non-being, fear of death. Neurotic anxiety also certainly predisposes man to sin, but the former type is bound up with the very nature of his existence and cannot be eliminated by psychotherapy. Only faith in God through Christ can reduce its effects. And, presumably, since man's faith never completely overcomes his existential anxiety, he will always be prone to sin.

But all of man's anxieties taken together—and there are many kinds[47]—certainly contribute to man's sin, and neurotic anxiety is not the least of these. Increasingly it is being seen that psychotherapy and high religion must work together if man is to be helped.

One of the consequences of man's anxiety is that it produces what Erich Fromm calls "alienation," of which "self-alienation" is in a sense more primary. Fromm doesn't discuss anxiety in relation to alienation, but the two are certainly bound up together, in our estimation, and surely in any adequate Christian anthropology we must incorporate the two. We could, as a matter of fact, define sin in terms of alienation from God, self, and one's fellow men.

But what is alienation? Fromm says that the common denominator in all alienation is "the fact that *man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own power and richness, but as an impoverished 'thing,' dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his living substance* . . . he is a stranger to himself, just as his fellow man is a stranger to him."[48] This is the neurotic person, and, we believe, essentially the reactive form of man's dread of finitude. Man is unwilling to accept himself as a finite creature—this is why he endeavors to usurp God prerogatives. So what does man do further?

Man engages in idolatry. Fromm shows remarkable insight at this point. "The essential difference between monotheism and polytheism is not one of number of gods, but lies in the fact of self-alienation. Man spends his energy, his artistic capacities on building an idol, and then he worships this idol . . . His life forces have flown into a 'thing' . . . not experienced as a result of his own productive effort but . . . over against him . . . his own life forces in an alienated form."[49] Man, you see, has *renounced his autonomy to heteronomous things and experiences himself heteronomously.* "He does not experience himself as the center from which living acts of love and reason radiate. *He has become a thing,* his neighbor *becomes a thing,* just as *his gods are things.*"[50] Man has lost his conscious selfhood, has become enslaved. Along with this his sense of personal responsibility has vanished. But, despite the lengthiness of this paper, it would be pitiful to leave man in this alienated state of being. Let us ask this question: what do Christianity, philosophy, and psychology have to say about redeeming man from this plight? They have a great deal more in common at this point than we have time for. Let us treat briefly the religio-psychological mode of redemption.

The Gospel of Christ proclaims that God has initiated the redemptive process to remove the alienated condition. Both Christianity and psychotherapy propose a kind of mediative approach.

The underlying problem is amazingly similar. What is necessary to both is the initiation of a response in persons to a "dynamic image which appeals to the depths of the human situation. Instead, then, of the process by which the psychiatrist seeks to lift the conflict to the surface and to detach the ... (psychic energy) from its temporary object (of dependency)," the Christian teacher and minister try to "present the image of the death and resurrection of Christ (the one representing dramatically the death of the old ego, the other the emergence of the new self in attachment to a new goal,"[51] thus lifting the individual out of his former alienated state to give him a new "feel" of freedom by a "higher bondage" to Christ.

Man, in this relationship—both to therapist on one level and to Christ on another—is taught to accept himself for what he was, is, and might become .... as well as to love himself properly,[52] in the sense of self-acceptance or respect. One of the great empirical facts which modern dynamic psychology leaves with us is simply that one cannot love his fellow man when he cannot properly love himself. Yet, this is really an old Biblical truth: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God ... and thy neighbor *as thyself.*" For effective psychotherapy, rational insight into one's abnormal personality structure still requires *experience of that insight through concrete expression.* Likewise, rational religious insight necessitates an *actualized expression of this in worship and symbolic action.*

In the vocabulary of modern clinical psychology one of the most hackneyed, weasel-worded expressions is that of "adjustment." It has even crept over into the vocabulary of some of the earlier theologians of our period—especially those naturalistically inclined—so that the business of religion was to enable the person to *adjust* successfully to a spiritual environment. Now, is the spiritually and psychologically redeemed man the "well adjusted" man? Well briefly, if "adjustment" means, as it surely does to many who use the term, mere conformity to one's environment— then the answer is a ringing NO! Technically, in the psychological vocabulary, adjustment means *release of particular tensions in the organism* or person—actually or symbolically. Since we cannot enter into an extended discussion on this point, let us emphasize the importance of "integrative adjustment" as a concept which still allows for the significance of "creative tensions" within our concept of polarity. One of the sanest developments in dynamic psychology stresses *the use of tensions and anxieties* rather than their complete elimination. In so far as adjustment is involved in high religious living for the Christian, what is important is the satisfying of sound, legitimate motives as they operate within the interrelated system which is the personality. But this functional relationship—allowing for release of mental and spiritual energies—

must avoid overemphasis or overexpression of one motive or drive and the neglect of others of equal importance for the integrity of the person (morally, spiritually and psychologically).

Theologically the implication concerning *integrative adjustment* in the best sense—*intra*personally and *inter*personally—involves the idea of a healthy, creative functioning of autonomous and heteronomous factors within personal and social structures, such that, in Biblical language, there is a "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit . . . " (Eph. 4:3b, 4a) In the personal and social processes which are involved here, it is the Spirit (*pneuma*) which creates and maintains this unity. The "Law of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:2)—expressed in the principle which we might designate as *pneumatonomy*—exemplifies that mysterious Reality through which man is "born of the Spirit" (Jno. 3:8b). This is in the triumphant words of Paul in Romans 7:22, "the law of God (in Greek, *to nomo tou Theou*—'theonomy'*), in my inmost self," in which Paul experiences a transcendence of the antinomy between "what I want," (man's autonomous incli- nation) and "what I do not want" (his heteronomous tendency) (8:15b, 16a, RSV). Paul's highly autobiographical account in Romans 6, 7 and 8 moves from a consciousness of *sin* (ch. 6), through an endeavor to overcome the soul's schism by way of the *law* (ch. 7), to a transcendence of this inner contradiction through the *Spirit* (ch. 8). Here Paul illustrates profoundly what is per- haps the most crucial consequence of man's inner polarity—name- ly his tendency to misuse his *moral independence* and his capacity for redemption in terms of his *religious dependence* on God's grace.

FOOTNOTES

[1]N. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man;* transl. Natalie Duddington (3rd ed.; Lon- don: Goeffrey Bles, 1948), p. 11.
[2]A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World,* New York, 1946, p. 202.
[3]*Ibid.,* p. 18.
[4]*The Art of Loving,* New York: Harper, 1946, p. 32.
*The use of these terms in Immanuel Kant's *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Ethics* first attracted my attention to their significance.
[5]Wayne E. Oates, *Anxiety in Christian Experience,* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955, p. 89.
[6]*An Essay on Man,* pp. 5-6, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. (Italics mine)
[7]Erich Frank, *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth,* p. 8, New York: Oxford, 1945. (Italics mine.)
[8]Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State,* p. 57, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. (Italics mine)
[9]Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself,* p. 7, New York: Rinehart, 1947.
[10]L. Harold DeWolf, *A Theology of the Living Church,* p. 151, New York: Harper, 1953.
[11]New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.

[12]Sidney Cave in his excellent book, *The Christian Estimate of Man*, p. 13, (London: Duckworth, 1949), says: "We look in vain in the Synoptic Gospels for a Christian 'Doctrine of Man.' "

[13]D. R. G. Owen, *Body and Soul*, pp. 181-2, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

[14]Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1952.

[15]*Op. Cit.*, pp. 190-1

[16]*Op. Cit.*, pp. 17-19

[17]*Op. Cit.*, p. 28

[18]Owen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 191

[19]*A Psychiatric Glossary*, p. 36, Committee on Public Information, American Psychiatric Association, 1957.

[20]L. F. Shaffer and E. J. Shoben, *The Psychology of Adjustment*, p. 310, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956.

[21]*Op. Cit.*, p. 14

[22]*The People and the Book*, ed. A. S. Peake, Article "Hebrew Psychology," H. W. Robinson, p. 362, Oxford University Press, 1925. (Italics mine)

[23]*Op. Cit.*, p. 366

[24]The works of Jaspers, and Viktor Frankl constitute cases in point.

[25]Owen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 194

[26]See his *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York: Henry Holt, 1937.

[27]*Reason and Emotion*, p. 15, London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1935. (Italics mine)
*See Richard Kroner, *The Religious Function of Imagination*, New Haven, 1941.

[28]*Op. Cit.*, p. 174

[29]*An Essay on Man*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944.

[30]*Philosophy in a New Key*, p. 290, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

[31]A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 64, New York: Macmillan, 1933.

[32]Wm. Temple, Nature, Man and God, p. 229, New York: Macmillan, 1935.

[33]*Op. Cit.*, p. 84
*Sometime there will need to be written a theology of conscience which throws light on the structures of genuine conscience in contrast with compulsive rebelliousness.   Some forms of nonconformity come under the strictures of this same sort of distinction.

[34]Edmund Bergler, *The Battle of Conscience*, p. 12, Washington Institute of Medicine, 1948.

[35]Lawrence E. Cole, *Human Behavior*, p. 852, New York: World Book Co., 1953.

[36]O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics*, p. 572, New York: Ronald Press Company, 1950.   (Italics mine)

[37]*Op. Cit.*, p. 190-191 (Italics mine)

[38]An *unconscious* mechanism, in the psychiatric vocabulary.

[39]O. H. Mowrer, *Op. Cit.*, p. 568 (Italics mine)

[40]J. W. Eaton and R. J. Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders*, p. 204, The Free Press, 1955.

[40a]*Op. Cit.*, 206

[40b]*Ibid.*

[41]Paul Tillich, "Morals and Moralism," p. 150, *Ministry and Medicine in Human Relations*, Iago Galdston, Editor, New York, 1955.

[42]Andre Gide, *Two Legends*: Oedipus and Theseus, from introductory note by John Russell, p. vii, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.
*Indeed, the position has sometimes been taken by literary critics that Sophocles' "Oedipus The King" is a critique of Greek rationalism.

[43]*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. I, p. 200, New York: Scribner, 1941.

[44]Paul Tillich, Rollo May, David E. Roberts, Henry Guntrip, and others.

[45]Harper's, 1957 (Revised ed.)

[46]*Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

[47]See Wayne E. Oates, *Anxiety in Christian Experience,* Philadelphia: West-
minster, 1955, for an excellent treatment.
[48]*The Sane Society,* p. 124, New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.
[49]*Ibid.,* 122.
[50]*Ibid.*
[51]F. W. Dillistone, "The Christian Doctrine of Man," *The Hibbert Journal,*
January, 1956.
[52]See Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving, passim,* New York: Harper, 1956

*Tillich likes to use "theonomy" to indicate the transcendence of such anti-
nomies. For my purpose I prefer using what I have called "pneumatonomy,"
since it speaks more directly to the Biblical experience as individual and social
process.

A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE FINE ARTS

By Mary Oyer

I. Introduction

A broad definition of art includes man's skillful and tasteful participation in almost any human activity. If the term is narrowed to the so-called "fine arts," only those areas emerge which are set apart from a practical function. Music, poetry, painting, sculpture are isolated from other human activity by their insistence on the quality of beauty and their relative disregard for the ordinary level of existence. Artistic values are their *raison d'etre* and not merely by-products of an otherwise acceptable activity.

For centuries Christians have questioned the validity of the arts (the term will be used in its more restricted sense throughout this paper). Art has often been associated with the "world" of the New Testament or with pagan cultures. Christians observe that Christ never discussed the arts; His mention of the transitory character of the temple appears negative: "As for these things which you see, the days will come when there shall not be left here one stone upon another that will not be thrown down." John cautions the Christian disciple in similar terms: "Do not love the world or the things in the world. . . . "All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father but is of the world. And the world passes away."

But the basic problem does not stem from explicit New Testament statements about art; rather, it seems to lie in the existence of a tension between Christ and any aspect of culture. On the one hand, the Christian is placed under the Lordship of Christ; on the other, he finds himself bound to a temporal world and a cultural framework which demand of him certain types of commitment and submission. For some Christians the demands of the spiritual and temporal worlds present an almost irreconcilable opposition, and life consists of a continuous struggle to resolve the tension. Mennonites traditionally have recognized the opposition and have often chosen to isolate themselves as much as they can from prevailing cultural practices in order to escape compromise and to maintain the life of the group. Thus, with few exceptions, the

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arts—along with politics and a few other fields—have remained outside of the center of Mennonite culture.

Tension arises perhaps most severely between Christ's soteriological plan and art's pecular character. Christ's teachings point toward the redemption of man; Christians are commissioned to make disciples of the world. Art cannot redeem; at best it only prepares man to see himself in the light of his destiny. Therefore some Christians maintain that the realm of the arts is peripheral to the Christian life and cannot be considered a legitimate vocational field. Although this view often is not articulated consciously among Mennonites, the attitude of suspicion of the values of art predominates over a positive view of acceptance.

It is the purpose of this paper to present bases for the Christian's acceptance of the arts and to point out a few of the implications of such acceptance in Mennonite higher education.

It will be necessary first, however, to make more precise the boundaries of the word art. Certain similarities among the various media make possible grouping the arts together. In addition to their concern with beauty and organizational relationships the arts are alike in functioning non-discursively. Susanne Langer points out that they lie "within the verbally inaccessible field of vital experience and qualitative thought;"[1] much of their significance lies in their power to present insights inexpressible through language. They are as direct as possible as they stand; they do not become clearer through translation into another medium nor through verbal interpretation.

Yet the peculiar characteristics of each medium demand individual treatment for each art form. Although the ultimate significance of poetry is non-discursive, its material—language—is discursive. It is capable of specific subject, of complicated ideas, of extensive thought. Its meaning resides in the union of discursive and non-discursive elements. Painting and sculpture generally use nature as their point of departure. They, too, have subject, though their deeper content is something quite different. At any rate, their meaning stems from the combination of representational and intuitional factors. This paper will lean toward the abstract arts —instrumental music and non-objective painting and sculpture— in part to limit the scope of an otherwise far too extensive subject, in part to exclude moral problems which arise out of subject rather than aesthetic content, and finally to stay closer to the bias and training of the writer.

II. Bases for the Christian's Acceptance of the Arts

1. Art, as an aspect of culture, is the privilege and responsibility of man.

Since the creation of the world, man has been compelled to relate himself satisfactorily to his natural environment and to other

men. He has continually explored the world and attempted to overcome its destructive features. He has constantly sought to refine and conserve values which he has inherited or discovered. He has molded temporal and material means of every sort to create culture.

Culture in turn places certain claims on man. He cannot isolate himself completely from the heritage which he knows, from the institutions which have risen to enrich his existence. He must make some sort of response. Christ also lays claims on man's loyalties. He appears to ask man to leave family and work, to view cultural achievements lightly, to live with the future world as the truest reality, in order to become His disciple.

H. Richard Niebuhr, in *Christ and Culture,*[2] points out five characteristic responses to the apparent conflict between opposing claims. At one extreme lies the rejection of culture in clear-cut either-or form. Tertullian preached separation from the culture of the world in the second century. The medieval monk isolated himself from the prevailing culture by setting up a distinct and differing plan. Niebuhr considers the Mennonites the purest example of this strain in the present world. The opposing extreme accepts Christ and culture as standing in complete agreement; Christ is the hero and fulfillment of culture.

Three intermediate views recognize the tension but suggest resolutions. Thomas Aquinas believed that Christ participates in and fulfills cultural aspirations and yet lives above it—transcends the earth-bound limits of culture. Luther taught a dual approach, accepting the authority of both Christ and culture. Existence on earth always involes subjection to both moralities, resolution and justification came only beyond history. The final view acknowledges Christ' power to convert culture. Augustine and Calvin taught that God continues to work creatively and redemptively in the present. Man finds God within society, not apart from it; he must accept culture as a value which can perpetuate God's work.

Niebuhr's five characteristic responses to the problem could be multiplied by innumerable variations and nuances of meaning. Each finds at least some support in the Bible. Differences arise out of disagreements in epistemology and theology.

The problem involved in the Christian's acceptance of the arts is basically this larger issue of his attitude toward culture. If the arts are to be pursued fully and creatively, it is essential that the Christian assume a positive attitude toward culture. He must accept responsibility for its perpetuation and for the quality of its direction. He will consider his capacity to understand, to make discoveries, to grasp relationships, a gift of God, the natural expression of which is cultural activity. Through culture he will be

fulfilling God's commission to have dominion over the earth and subdue it. Leon Wencelius explains that,

> Culture is . . . the accomplishment of the creative will of God. It is the way in which man has been called to achieve his dominion on the earth and to replenish it. As man had to plough the ground in order to receive its fruits, man has to plough his mind in order to give birth to Art, Science, Philosophy, which are the fruits of his culture.[3]

The Christian will observe also that, although many of Christ's statements taken in isolation are uncompromisingly anti-cultural, yet His Incarnation is an affirmation of cultural values. His message was spiritual, and yet Jewish culture was its frame of reference. He did not attempt to reform Jewish cultural life; yet He built His message with Jewish language and symbolism. The symbol of the lamb, for example, became a profound and meaningful reality when the Lamb of God died. He made no attempt to replace Jewish symbols with His own; He intensified and fulfilled rather than destroyed His cultural heritage. He gave no pertinent rules to the artist for artistic morality, but He spoke with artistic integrity in the colorful language of the parable.

Two corollaries accompany the premise that the Christian should positively perpetuate culture as a responsibility ordained by God. In the first place, he embraces the commission in the context of sin and redemption. He recognizes the presence of tension between Christ and culture but realizes that the tension is created by sin. Man may view culture as the final cause of existence and separate himself from God, or he may turn it toward ends which violate the will of God. Culture belongs exclusively to the realm of human achievement; and, because man is a sinner, culture is inevitably imperfect. It is redemption that reconciles. The Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, explains it in this way for the arts:

> Is not art pagan by birth and tied to sin—even as man is born a sinner? But grace heals the wounds of nature.[4]

Redemption heals and reconciles because it enables the Christian to see the wholeness of life, even though through a dark glass. It makes him view any aspect of culture in the perspective of truth as Christ reveals it. If all else is equal, the Christian can produce an art work of truer reality than the non-Christian. The nonbeliever will reveal glimpses of truth. but in fragmentary form.

The Christian with a positive approach to culture will be a kind of Christian humanist. He will value man's achievements because he recognizes the dignity of reborn man. He will welcome the artist's serious statement because he is thoroughly aware of the

possibility of redemption for any and all men. He will explore the whole range of human experience as it is expressed in culture and specifically in the arts. His approach will not be dilettante but a sympathetic sharing in the family of man.

The second corollary insists that the Christian accept the autonomy of each distinct area of culture. The ultimate end of all man's activity and creation is the glory of God. The arts, if seriously treated, present a kind of homage and praise. The *Soli Deo Sit Gloria* appearing at the end of most manuscripts of Bach's music and Gerard Manley Hopkin's "To Christ Our Lord," which forms a subtitle for his poem, *The Windhover*, for example, consciously articulate this possibility.

However, each discipline operates under its own laws of rightness which are determined by the nature of each discipline. Music, for example, belonged to the Quadrivium during the Middle Ages because it was basically number. Its numerical relationships were far more significant than its sound. With the increasing differentiation of areas which came with the Renaissance, music broke away to the realm of aesthetics. In the twentieth century it is impossible to lump mathematics and music together; each has its own material, methods, and cultural ends.

The most serious violation of autonomy occurs when an artist tries to justify his artistic end by a forced relationship to the ultimate cause, that is, the glory of God. He may sacrifice artistic principles in order to articulate some Christian doctrine. This is the sickness which pervades most of the art which Christians accept as sacred. The artist may even try to impose subject or representation on an abstract art medium in order to vindicate himself morally. A composer, for example, may resort to a whole series of cliches of organ church literature in order that the listener associate a "religious" mood with his music. Such manipulation is immoral. God created the laws for each discipline in the sense that they are inherent within each medium. Thus the artist who would glorify God with his work must thoroughly understand and respect his medium. Maritain's views in this case are pertinent:

> If you want to produce a Christian work, be a Christian, and try to make a work of beauty into which you have put your heart; do not adopt a Christian pose.... Do not *separate* your art from your faith. But leave *distinct* what is distinct. Do not try to blend by force what life unites so well. If you were to make your aesthetic an article of faith, you would spoil your faith. If you were to make your devotion a rule of artistic operation, or turn the desire to edify into a method of your art, you would spoil your art.[5]

2. Art, as it is identified with beauty, glorifies God.

Beauty, which is defined for this paper as the quality of perfec-

tion in the sensible world, was closely bound to the theology of the Christian church until the Renaissance. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork" was a kind of motto for the Middle Ages as they viewed the material world. All corporeal existence pointed somehow toward the incorporeal. The result was a deeply Christian aesthetic—one which acknowledged God as the Source and Cause for all beauty and the church as the instrument through which its laws were understood.

Such a complete union between beauty and theology was possible, however, largely through Neoplatonic epistemology, which, with the exception of occasional periods of recession, dominated the church from the time of St. Augustine. Neoplatonism influenced the aesthetic directly. Plato had taught that truest reality lay in the spirit, mind, Idea. Nature was one step removed from the Idea, or a shadow of reality. Art, which in a sense imitated nature, was another step removed and merely a shadow of a shadow; it could never reveal the truth of an object. His views were introduced into the church by Christian Neoplatonists—especially Pseudo-Dionysius and St. Augustine. Boethius' three catagories of musicians express the Neoplatonic hierarchy; knowledge was superior to practice. The true musician was the theorist—the philosopher who dealt only with the concepts of music, acoustical relationships, theological implications. The composer was on a lower level. He actually dealt with the sensible medium, but he, too, might arrive at the basic laws through instinct and inspiration. The performer was the lowest in value. He handled only the material and did not comprehend the metaphysical aspects of his art.

Matter was made acceptable to the medieval church only through an elaborate Neoplatonic symbolism based on the belief that matter aspires toward spirit. John Scotus Erigena taught that all beauty is a theophany. Things are beautiful in the measure in which they manifest unmistakably the perfection of absolute Beauty. For St. Bonaventura, who culminated the Neoplatonic aesthetic in the thirteenth century, all matter had a double aspect—a physical and a spiritual existence. Symbolism was the key to his Christian aestheticism.

Throughout the Middle Ages the octave, for example, was valued for its simple numerical relationship—2:1. Mathematics formed a link between God and the world; it had power to influence the soul. The octave came to symbolize rebirth and the whole mystery of the redemption because it was an acoustical beginning again. Its merit as beautiful sound was quite incidental to its symbolic worth.

Light, also, had rich symbolic connotations. It was responsible for the sensible value of jewels and colored glass, and it was the

cause of visibility in the sensible world. But, more significantly, it symbolized the illumination of truth. Because it was visible and yet penetrated matter it served as the most direct bridge possible between the material world and the spiritual. Otto von Simson explains the metaphysical aesthetic of light:

> Light is conceived as the form that all things have in common, the simple that imparts unity to all. As an aesthetic value, light, like unison in music, thus fulfills that longing for ultimate concord, that reconciliation of the multiple into one, which is the essence of the medieval experience of beauty, as it is the essence of its faith.[6]

Neoplatonic views of matter brought serious conflicts to the greatest artists of the Renaissance. Early suggestions of the problem appear in Petrarch's writings. On one occasion, when he climbed Mont Ventoux, he was overwhelmed with the view. However, he felt that he must read St. Augustine's *Confessions* to counterbalance his intoxication with the material world. He was angry with himself that he still loved earthly beauty, for "No thing is admirable besides the mind; compared with its greatness, nothing is great."[7]

In Michelangelo, a member of the Florentine Platonic Academy, the conflict became sharply focused. Early in his life he painted and carved idealized figures to express man's creation in God's image. As time went on he longed to express more fully the truer reality of the spiritual world. His figures were less refined and polished, expressive of man's inability to reach perfection in this world. One of his last sonnets reveals his disillusionment after a life of working in artistic media:

> In a frail boat, through stormy seas, my life in its course has now reached the harbour, the bar of which all men must cross to render account of good and evil done. Thus I now know how fraught with error was the fond imagination which made Art my idol and my king, and how mistaken that earthly love, once light and gay, if now I approach a twofold death. I have certainty of the one and the other menaces me. No brush, no chisel will quiet the soul, once it is turned to the divine love of Him who, upon the cross, outstretches His arms to take us to Himself.[8]

Three changes in thought reached their culmination in the sixteenth century and made—are still making—a direct relationship between beauty and glorifying God impossible. They created the impasse which Michelangelo discovered. First, Neoplatonism faded. In the thirteenth century Thomas Acquinas had advocated an Aristotelian acceptance of the sensible world, but his emphasis did not become dominant until the late Renaissance. This change lessened the urgency of justifying the material world with symbolic association. The rejection of Neoplatonism was significant

also because it made way for the Hebraic-Christian attitude toward matter. God created the world and declared it good. He confirmed this truth by the Incarnation. The meaning of redemption was clarified when God became man, when spirit and flesh were combined. There is nothing in the Bible to indicate that the Christian should debase matter and expect that truth resides only in spirit. Total truth unites flesh and spirit, just as Christ became flesh.

Along with the waning of Neoplatonism came the emergence of aesthetics as a distinct area of experience, governed by its own laws. Theology no longer determined the laws of beauty. Artists and critics developed theories of judgment, based often on the pleasure which the material world might stimulate in the perceiver. Art moved from a didactic to a purely artistic function, and thus its immediate ability to convey Christian dogma was weakened. It existed now for man's joy and contemplation.

The third significant change of the sixteenth century was the divorce of art from the church. The Reformation finally severed the medieval synthesis. Leslie Spelman[9] believes that Calvin completed the divorce of art and the church and forced the artist into the secular realm. This has the advantage of compelling the Christian artist to work creatively in his day to convey truth aside from sacred subject and symbol. However, few artists since the Reformation have devoted their finest efforts to sacred art, and the loss is severe for the Protestant church. Spelman holds, too, that Calvin did a disservice to art by ascetically declaring it a waste of time and condemning it because it appealed to the senses. Perhaps this latter view is the Protestant version of Neoplatonic rejection of matter. It is a factor in the Mennonite view of the arts.

In our day art glorifies God primarily because it confirms man's creation in the image of God. The character of God's creation is beautiful. Its organization and unity, its rhythm both in time and space, its unending variety and freshness, its consistency give man his concepts of beauty. The artist imitates—not God's material world, but His act of creating. Thus, whether consciously or not, he praises God because the basic power to create reflects God's likeness. The artist reflects at least dimly God's perfection. Wencelius holds that artists "are the continuators of creation, of which they have realized the inner dynamism." They are co-workers with God.[10]

3.   Art, by its nature, is a unique vehicle for stating truth.

In order to see the place of art as a vehicle for the expression of truth, it will be profitable first to examine certain facets of the nature of art and then to try to define ways in which art may deal with truth.

Inherent within art is the possibility, first, of articulating con-

cepts and realities which language cannot make clear. Art's non-discursive character complements discursive methods of communication in extending the gamut of man's understanding and insight. Quite in contradiction to Plato's view of art as a "shadow of a shadow" of reality, the twentieth century recognizes art as the most direct and immediate means for making its own kind of statement. It can reveal reality in the form of insights, intuitions, intimations, which language cannot touch. Its imaginative character frees it from the conventions of the fixed symbols of language.

In the second place, the element of beauty in art makes it a suitable vehicle for truth. Its striving toward perfection lifts it above casual and ordinary experience. Emil Brunner explains that "art intensifies and elates, it brings order to the chaotic, gives form to the casual and shape to the shapeless, it exalts and ennobles the material reality to which it gives form."[11]

Thirdly, art functions in the realm of contemplation; it is not a stimulus for action. It does not contribute to the preservation of life nor the fulfillment of physical need. This quality has been the source of much suspicion among Christians. St. Bernard's complaint about elaborate church buildings represents the attitude of Christians over many centuries:

> The church is resplendent in her walls, beggarly in her poor; she clothes her stones in gold, and leaves her sons naked; the rich man's eye is fed at the expense of the indigent. The curious find delight here, yet the needy find no relief.[12]

Yet, because art is contemplative, it is peculiarly qualified to deal with the truth which lies at the roots of immediate problems such as preservation of life and fulfillment of physical need.

What is the truth with which art deals? As has been pointed out earlier, art's meaning defies translation into words. It suffers severe loss through attempts to explain and interpret. Its force and impact lie in the success with which it can communicate directly through its own peculiar character. One can only suggest indirectly something of the nature of its deepest content.

A great work of art may reveal most crucial problems of existence—the relation of God to man and man to man. Its meaning is broader and deeper than simply an intellectual or rational concept. It conveys wholeness of experience in a spontaneous and immediate way. It strikes man with a freshness of insight which he cannot know outside of the arts. In its own way it has the capacity to help man sense ultimate relationships of life, to see truth—perhaps even to see Christ, the Word of John 1—less dimly.

The artist dare not force his medium to reveal truth. He does not set out as an evangelist to convince man of his sin and urge recognition of Christ. His work achieves such an end only if he

possesses three important qualifications: he is the master of his technical equipment, he searches to create a work of beauty and integrity, and he has struggled with the most basic problems of existence so earnestly that an attempt to isolate them from his sensible expression would be false.

Rouault has made the curious statement that his chief ambition is to paint a head of Christ so convincing that all men will believe. He could gain his redemptive end much more directly with words, particularly with the words of the Gospel, which clarify the redemptive plan; but there is the strong implication that artistic integrity can reveal something of ultimate reality through means other than verbal.

There is no basic difference in content between a Rouault "Christ" and a late string quartet of Beethoven. Both are unconsciously testimonies of faith; both are serious statements concerning man's situation and destiny; both exist on a level compatible with the great issues of life; both bear witness to the deepest realities.

III. Implications for Mennonite Higher Education

A Mennonite liberal arts college needs to examine carefully its excuse for being. Is Niebuhr correct in judging the Mennonites anti-cultural? Is a positive view of the liberal arts possible within the present Mennonite tradition? What was the attitude of the sixteenth century Anabaptists—of the New Testament church? To what extent are their views applicable in the twentieth century Mennonite situation? The faculty and administration must consider seriously questions of this sort before they can solve the specific problems in the fine arts. A Christian college must clarify its underlying philosophy of culture before it can hope to act positively in implementing details within a liberal arts program.

If a positive view is feasible, the teacher of the fine arts should encourage both passive and active participation. All students in a liberal arts college should be exposed to the relatively passive or "appreciation" side of the arts. They should encounter the great minds of a civilization and have the opportunity to profit from the accumulation of insight which has come to men in many generations. Often students will feel that the Christian has best approach the arts as a harmless diversion—as a leisure time activity; a more serious participation might be involving. But the teacher must have the freedom to deal with the central and compelling aspects of art. He must make clear art's capacity to function as a vehicle for statements of truth.

Students should know also the active, creative level of participation. An amateur acquaintance with an art medium can help a student to develop a sympathetic understanding of an artist's

handling of that medium. In the Renaissance a man like Leonardo da Vinci could master the knowledge and traditions of several fields—painting, sculpture, engineering—within his lifetime. The accumulation of knowledge since the sixteenth century makes such an accomplishment almost impossible in the twentieth century; men are forced into highly specialized areas in order to be able to operate creatively. Amateur participation at least makes room for a more genuine understanding of art than does a purely spectator view.

The most problematic area for Mennonites participating in the arts is serious study which leads to an art vocation. The arts do not fit into the traditional Mennonite concept of service vocations. The specialized, professional artist becomes almost inevitably isolated from the Mennonite community because there is little place for his contribution. Gifted students often are made to fear that serious involvement with the arts will threaten or even replace their faith.

Students with creative ability must learn that all they do is a witness to their faith. It is essential that they master their art medium in order that they be capable of "speaking" with integrity. The Christian dare not be shoddy in his expression; his command of technical phases of his medium must be as thorough and complete as is humanly possible. Because he loves God and his neighbor he is compelled to equip himself fully if he deals with any art seriously.

The creative student also needs encouragement to work freely within his medium. An artistic expression is an individual, rather than a group, statement, and the individual must be free from group pressures in order to make new and pertinent statements about reality. St. Augustine's advice to the Christian artist is applicable to the twentieth century situation: "Love God, and make what you will." It is the artist's relationship to God which frees him; love controls his desires and molds the inner content of his work. The Christian teacher can help a student to deepen his concept of God and he can train him to respect and master the medium. But the student must be free to determine the specific content and expressiveness of his work.

Students should be helped to sharpen their powers of discrimination and judgment. Christians tend to judge moral worth in art by the existence or absence of Christian subject or symbol rather than by the artistic integrity of the total work and the quality of its Christian insights. Students must learn to discriminate between great art and hackneyed cliches; they must prefer fresh insights to facile and superficial expressions. They must know the difference between stating truth as an honest and urgent necessity and attempting to moralize.

Art has a peculiar pertinence for the Christian, which Menno-
nites—most of Christendom, for that matter—have hardly tapped.
We will have to choose between the negation or acceptance of
culture—between deserting the field to the non-Christian or em-
bracing the arts for the glory of God.

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[1]*Philosophy in a New Key* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), P.
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[2](New York: Harper Brothers, 1951), views summarized on pp. 40-43.
[3]"The Word of God and Culture," in *The Word of God and the Reformed
    Faith* (Grand Rapids: Second American Calvinistic Conference, 1942), p.
    160.
[4]*Art and Scholasticism* (New York: Scribner's Sons), 1930, p. 53.
[5]*Ibid.,* p. 54.
[6]*The Gothic Cathedral* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 54.
[7]Translated in E. Cassirer, et al, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago:
    University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 44.
[8]Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy,* 1450-1600 (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
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[9]"Calvin and the Arts," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* VI (March,
    1948), p. 251.
[10]Wencelius, pp. 161-162.
[11]*Christianity and Civilization* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 74.
[12]G. G. Coulter. *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
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THE CHRISTIAN VIEW IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

By Robert Kreider*

This paper is to be an appraisal from the Christian vantage point of an academic discipline, an academic quest which we call "political science." The search for definitions is not very rewarding. Herman Heller in the *Encyclopedia for Social Science* writes that it is "impossible to formulate any precise definition of either the content or the method of this peculiarly comprehensive discipline . . . neither the concept political nor the concept science has any fixed connotation." Broadly stated, this discipline is a study of political institutions and the forces which create and control them. In our liberal arts colleges we give a modest status to political science. Our offerings include courses in American government, international relations, and often additional courses in comparative government and political theory.

It is not clear to me that a Christian scholar approaches the discipline of political science in any way basically different from his approach to sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, or other social science disciplines. I would propose that we survey initially the general attitudes which might characterize the approach of the Christian to this discipline.

First, the Christian scholar should be committed to finding the truth. His study is open-ended. He does not suffer from a hardening of the categories. Like Abraham the scholar goes forth "not knowing whither he went." He is a seeker. He is prepared to look with objectivity at that which might do injury to cherished traditions and patterns.

Second, the Christian scholar is committed to the idea that knowledge is instrumental to action or that conviction must issue in action. He views with some skepticism knowledge for just knowledge's sake. Christian scholars remember the admonition of "being doers of the word and not hearers only." The Christian in his scholarly quest is impelled to ask: "What shall I do about it?" "Does this have anything to do with my God-given vocation?"

Third, the Christian scholar needs to be well-informed and discerning as to his sources of information. We can so easily be captured by conventional points of view. Depending on which fountain of interpretation we go to for refreshment, we can acquire a *Time* mentality or a *Chicago Tribune* mentality or a *US News*

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mentality. The Christian ought not to be caught in the trap of a stereotyped, conventional mind set. He should be well-informed and not welded to one source of interpretation.

Fourth, the Christian scholar should be skeptical of the panacea, the cure-all answer—that which offers political salvation in three easy lessons. His skepticism might be directed to such panaceas as .these: the expectation that the dictatorship of the proletariat will issue in the withering away of the state, the conviction that all would be well if we could only elect a "born again" Christian as governor of the state, the belief that a new day will dawn if women are elected to office in substantial numbers, the confident hope that the tone of our national government would improve if a sentence about God were introduced in the preamble to the Constitution. The Christian scholar is dissatisfied with over-simplifications, because he knows the pervasiveness and infinite subtleties of evil in the social organism.

Fifth, and held in tension with the above concern, the Christian scholar is impatient with the elaboration of issues into a fine web of complexities which leaves one immobilized in a tangle of relativism. The Christian is committed to seeking for simple verities amidst complexities: What is the will of God for me? "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." "We ought to obey God rather than men." "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's."

Sixth, the Christian scholar is committed to understanding the mind of those "who-are-not-our-kind." This is the leap of vicarious understanding. We should seek to project ourselves into the mind of the opponent—seeing the Kashmir issue from Nehru's viewpoint, viewing the Gulf of Aqaba through the eyes of Nasser and then through the eyes of Ben Gurion, viewing the Hungarian uprising from Kadar and Khrushehev's standpoint, seeing Formosa from Peking. This is to love Senator Knowland, Senator Eastland, Senator Jenner, Aneuhrin Bevan *as they are*. Love has real concern for the other as he actually is. We are to accept the other as a person. We do not immediately condemn him for his sins, but try sympathetically to understand his situation. Here we must recognize our disposition to judge harshly the vocation of the politician and yet not apply the same critical analysis to the activities of the businessman or the college administrator.

Seventh, the Christian can commit himself only tentatively to any of the secular cults, the most tempting being the cult of democracy. As Reinhold Niebuhr observes:

> If one may judge by the various commencement utterances . . . . Americans have only one religion: devotion to democracy. They extol its virtues, are apprehensive about the perils to which it is exposed, pour maledictions upon its foes, re-dedicate themselves periodically to its purposes, and claim unconditioned validity to its ideals.

This is a form of idolatry intolerable to the Christian. In the popular mind the state has first claim on one's loyalty and any religious affiliation is a private matter which must not interfere with the ultimate loyalty, the loyalty to the state. This belief the Christian must reject.

Eighth—and here we are proceeding into the heart of the issue—the Christian scholar gives Christ and His Church first claim on his loyalty. All other loyalties—state, business enterprise, society, social group, even family—have only tentative claim. This inevitably means that to be a disciple of Christ is to experience tension with these lesser loyalties.

The familiar saying of Jesus affords a starting point: "Render to Caesar therefore the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." Jesus reveals here that men have duties and responsibilities both to the community and to God. It is a twofold relationship. The disciple is to be "in the world," a loving, serving, responsible, witnessing member of the human community. And yet the disciple is "not of the world," for although he has a loyalty to the human community, he has a higher loyalty. He is a "fellow citizen with the saints and of the household of God." Christ does not counsel His disciples to withdraw from the community: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from evil." The disciple must have communion with the sinners and the saved of the community. In the world the disciple is both "the salt of the earth" and the "light of the world." As salt the disciple is a preservative, counteracting the influences which make for moral decay. To serve as salt there must be continuous contact with the community. Christ preached no asceticism nor hostile isolation from the civil community. The light that is hidden has no value. The radiant Christian disciple is set in the world to prove by his life "what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect."

Ninth, the Christian takes a responsible attitude toward the community and the state. He is concerned, he cares, he loves. The Christian is a messenger of the Good News. The Christian prays for the members of the community and for public officials. The Christian is obedient to the government and respectful of its officers and its laws. This, however, is not an unqualified submission. The Christian seriously considers vocational opportunities which are relevant to the needs of the community. The Christian in the Brotherhood seeks to minimize the burdens which the government must bear. The Brotherhood strives that none of its own are juvenile delinquents or drunken drivers or pollute the public streams.

The Christian in his attitude of responsibility toward the community and the state gives witness to the concerns which have

been laid upon his heart. Christ has given us a prophetic Gospel. Sin must be delineated and denounced. Righteousness must be lifted up. The Christian is under divine obligation to "speak the truth with his neighbor, for we are members one of another." A Christian has a sensitive conscience. He has concerns. True concerns are gifts of God. When they relate to the state he must communicate them. It is neither good stewardship nor good human relations to suppress the sharing of great convictions. Our concerns ought to come out of intimate acquaintanceship with the needs and the concrete situation about which we speak. Our concerns should be tested through prayer and the counsel of the Brotherhood. Our concerns ought to be set in the context of love— deeply sensitive to the plight of those involved in policy making and application. The speaking of concerns is loaded with perils. Hurling thunderbolts of prophetic judgment from safe Olympian heights may not be in the spirit of love. Such conduct may suggest that one is appropriating the role of God. Gordon Kaufman has given this counsel: "Love does more than simply witness to its own convictions: Love has real concern for the other as he actually is, not simply as we happen to think that he ought to be." Finally, we Mennonites ought to ponder carefully whether it is right that we speak to men in high places only when our own interests are at stake. Are we fulfilling the prophetic dimensions of the Gospel when we address government officials only on issues relating to conscientious objectors or our refugee brethren?

All this leads inevitably to the question: should the Christian become a public servant of the state? Participation in civil government and the holding of political office does not seem to be explicitly forbidden in Scripture. How far, then, should the Christian go? The Christian must go as far as he is led of God to go. Undoubtedly in many areas of political responsibility the Christian cannot go very far, because his attitudes and methods are not compatible with the attitudes and methods required of the political official. The Christian is captive to the way of love, forgiveness, even suffering. Esko Loewen has expressed this position very well in the following paragraph:

> When the Christian assumes public duty without any illusions as to what he is doing, recognizing the agonizing tensions he will have to endure between what he knows to be Christian judgment and the demands of the body politic, and so long as those tensions remain sharp for him so that he is primarily dedicated to serving God rather than man—so that he is in the world but not of it—state service is a possibility for the Christian. In the modern state with its many functions of social service, the public welfare state, those possibilities are considerable and varied—particularly in its public welfare functions. But, responsibility is always and essentially to God and not to man for the Christian. This commitment will likely have quite limiting effects upon his political possibilities.

Political participation ought to be set in the context of a clear sense of calling, earnest prayer, and Bible study, wrestling with the issues in the brotherhood, a recognition of the primacy of the claim of Christ, and an ethic of love. This ought to be the context not only for the political vocation but any vocation. It would seem that Christian ventures into the political arena ought to be accompanied by a resurgence of Biblical studies at the lay level and a recovery of the reality of the local brotherhood.

Shifting from the area of broad principles, I would like to suggest some practical ways in which we together might grow in our Christian responsibility toward government.

First, I sense that our teaching of American government and international relations in Mennonite colleges is often quite conventional, a compartmentalized discipline which may be taught in isolation from the claims of the Christian faith. It could be of great value to have a workshop where all teachers of American government from Mennonite colleges would sit down together to explore how we could teach American government imaginatively, provocatively from the Christian perspective. It would be an unprogrammed workshop in which we would go through the course section by section sharing ideas on how this course might have a Christian dimension. This, of course, could be extended to other disciplines, bringing together groups of instructors to discuss their basic courses—but from a Christian orientation.

Second, we need information on the extent of the participation of the Christian in politics. We need case studies. What, for example, is the extent of Mennonite participation today in political activity—voting, office holding, letter writing, petitioning, etc.? What is the experience of Mennonites who hold local public office? Do they serve out of a sense of Christian vocation? Parenthetically, one might inquire whether it is fair to apply such stringent tests to the vocation of politics when we may not apply them to other vocations, such as punch press operators, automobile salesmen, beauty parlor operators. It would also be helpful to have the case experiences of non-Mennonites who intentionally entered politics as an expression of Christian vocation or at least of high idealism. Such case studies would be a corrective in two directions. It would deflate some of those blithe generalizations to the effect that politics would be nice if the field were only manned by more Christians. Secondly, it might temper those categorical judgments that politics is dirty business, an affair of naked power and coercion—something quite disreputable compared to other vocations.

Third, have we given adequate study to vocations in government? The government is today one of our nation's major employers. In the day of the Apostle Paul only a limited range of employment opportunities were open to the citizen, notably the

military profession. In our day our people have quite universally accepted one avenue of government work, teaching in the public schools. The government has need for a wide variety of other vocational skills: meteorologists, social workers, agriculturalists, linguists, technical assistance personnel, etc. Are there types of government services, in addition to teaching and social service, which ought to be seriously presented to our youth as vocational opportunities? I would propose that representatives of our colleges confer together in Washington and at U. N. headquarters in New York with personnel officials to ascertain what vocations our people ought to enter in the interests of serving acute needs of our national community. I sense that one of the great vocational opportunities calling our people lies in overseas service.

Fourth, could we not provide a better training program for certain broad vocational areas if our Mennonite colleges did some things together? For example, we have so few in our group who are well informed on Soviet Russia and the Soviet satellite world. Our church could use a dozen or more scholars who were well informed in Russian studies. Perhaps here is where we ought to recover the Goshen Training School idea of World War II, but on a more modest scale. The colleges together might experiment with a summer seminar which would concentrate for an area study on the Soviet world. Upperclassmen of proven capacity to pursue independent study would be admitted to the program. The seminar should be based in the East where one could readily tap the rich personnel resources of the New York and Washington areas. If properly planned, this certainly would be worth academic credit. If we are committed to producing knowledgeable, sensitive, world-minded students, we ought to be looking for educational programs which improve upon our local, more pedestrian efforts.

Perhaps this presentation has value, if at all, at those points where questions have been raised. Dr. Thomas Morrow of Prairie View Hospital suggested to us several weeks ago that implicit in every question is an answer. He added later in response to an inquiry that perhaps implicit in every dogmatically projected answer is a question. As scholars and as Christians we need to continue to ask questions concerning what is the Christian responsibility to the political order. In this questioning we may find answers.

NONTHEOLOGICAL CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE ORIGIN AND CURRENT RELATIONSHIP OF MENNONITE GROUPS

*By Ed G. Kaufman**

There are some seventeen different Mennonite groups, all of which would be involved in a thorough discussion of cultural factors that were influential in their origin. Then, the current scene alone, of these various Mennonite groups, and the cultural factors involved in their present relationship or lack of the same is a very large, complex, and extremely-involved situation.

Here, no attempt is made to cover even one group as to cultural factors in its origin; while the present scene of inter-Mennonite relationships and cultural factors involved can also be referred to only in a very casual and introductory manner.

I.

This discussion should perhaps begin with a definition of terms. Special reference is made to the phrase, "cultural (i.e., nontheological) factors." At once the question arises as to whose definition we are interested in—that of present-day sociologists or that of those involved themselves at the time of the origin or even in the current relationship of Mennonite groups. To take the definition of sociologists as to the meaning of "cultural (i.e., nontheological) factors," and thereby judge persons involved in the origin of Mennonite groups would be manifestly unfair. At the time of the origin of Mennonite groups there was no such discipline as sociology and the concept of cultural factors as nontheological was nonexistent: nonexistent at least as far as the persons involved were concerned. To them all factors involved were ethical or moral and religious or theological.

To be sure, the writings of Menno Simons and that of other Anabaptist leaders, as well as the thought forms of later leaders of various groups and divisions, contain what present-day sociologists would classify as cultural elements; but that does not make them cultural for the persons involved. In a sense, therefore, it is not only cultural for the persons involved. In a sense, therefore, it is not unfair to the participants in Mennonite origins and later divisions, but even impossible for us to be objective in a discussion of this kind. Whatever the facts seem to be to a trained sociologist, such

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discussion is entirely beside the point if it leaves out of considera-
tion the existential realities as they appeared to the participants
involved at the time. For example, are these cultural or religious
factors which Menno Simons speaks of in the following quotations?

> Do not hear, do not follow, do not believe the many learned
> ones who let themselves be called doctors, lords, and masters,
> for they mind but flesh and blood. But seek and follow those
> who pass for the spectacle and filth of the earth, the curse and
> the offscouring from among them, for with them you will find
> Christ, the Spirit, truth, power, works and life. . . .
> We find in your houses nothing but sparkling pomp and
> showy dress, boldness and presumptuousness of heart. . . . This
> is your chivalrous custom and courtly conduct all the days of
> your lives. . . men who sit on easy cushions and have a fine
> time.[1]
> . . . there are no limits nor bounds to their accursed haughti-
> ness, foolish pride and pomp; they parade in silks, velvet,
> costly clothes, gold rings, chains, silver belts, pins, buttons,
> curiously adorned shirts, shawls, collars, veils, aprons, velvet
> shoes, slippers, and such like foolish finery. . . . Everyone has
> as much finery as he can afford and sometimes more. One
> wants to surpass another in this cursed folly. . . .[2]
> . . . the disgraceful licence to which you and your followers
> (David Joris) resort when you accommodate yourselves to
> the ritual and the morality of the papists, the Lutherans, and
> the Zwinglians, taking part in their religious exercises, not
> fleeing the fellowship of their banquets, weddings, and funer-
> als, but conforming yourself to all in the matter of con-
> duct . . . . You transform the status and the form of the Chris-
> tian life into a worldly one, after the manner of the Lutherans
> and the papists.[3]

Aside from the question whether the above items were cultural
or religious there were many factors that affected early Anabap-
tism. There was persecution resulting in migration and various
hardships of a social and economic nature. The oppression of the
masses by landlords and church officials made times favorable for
a movement patterned after the primitive church in the hope that
this would also make for social and economic relief. Naturally,
persecution and economic oppression helped to develop a longing
for peace and quiet and an attitude of retreat and retirement on
the part of the persecuted. Mennonites ever since have been
characterized as *"die Stillen im Lande"* and have rather prided
themselves on this characterization. Other characteristics result-
ing, are such as the closed community and group solidarity. These
developed as the various persecuted groups were forced to live
more or less in isolation from, and in conflict with, the world.

In isolation and conflict these groups were influenced by outside
men and forces. For example, Erasmus, the Sixteenth Century
humanist, had considerable contact with the Anabaptists. Some
authorities find traces of Erasmus in Menno Simons, Dirk Phillips,
Conrad Grebel, Hans Denk and others. The position of Erasmus

on the freedom of the will, nonresistance, baptism, communion, the Trinity, discipleship of Christ as the essence of Christianity, and other points, was so similar to that of the Anabaptists that he was suspected of being one of them. The degree of influence of Erasmian humanism upon the early Anabaptists or even the very rise of it is a debatable question, but no doubt there was some relationship.

We know also that the rationalistic philosopher Spinoza, who was excommunicated and very severely persecuted by the Jews and condemned by the church, for some years lived with a Mennonite family in Holland. Some hold that in his final sickness he was taken care of by Mennonites and buried by them. Certainly, the influential thinker and writer that he was, he made his impression on Mennonite thought and life of that day. The artist Rembrandt, was so closely associated with Mennonites that some have concluded that he was one. On the other hand, there are those among Mennonites who wish to disown him altogether. But some influence, as a foremost artist of his day, he certainly must have had, even on Mennonites. There is some evidence that the sources of much characteristically Anabaptist music were the common folk songs of the day. Here too we may not be proud of the origin but could hardly deny that there was some relation.

Such, then, are some factors that helped mould and form early Anabaptism: persecution, migration, economic hardship, isolation, group conflict, Erasmian humanism, naturalistic Spinozian philosophy, Rembrantian art, music of the then current folk songs, etc.

II

In later group formations among Mennonites it is also clear that various cultural influences were at work. One example of this is the formation of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia. Franz Isaac's volume on *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten* of 1908 and in the Master of Arts thesis of Jacob J. Toews on *The Cultural Background of the Mennonite Brethren Church,* 1951, as well as in writings of others, considerable material is presented to substantiate this position. Toews has a chapter dealing with Mennonite institutions in Russia, dealing with such items as village government, economic conditions, family life, education and religion.

An entire chapter is devoted to the "Social and Economic Factors Contributing to the Controversy" which finally led to the formation of the Mennonite Brethren Church. Here it is pointed out how wealth had concentrated in the form of land ownership on the one hand, while creating a landless class on the other. "Privileges to the privileged" were increasing while the underprivileged had to make their way as laborers on the land and in the industries of the privileged. As population grew and the pressure increased, because of the limitation of available land, migrations

within Russia were resorted to. All of which tended to accentuate the division between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

Hence, when foreign literature, foreign evangelists and other influences appeared on the scene they found fertile soil for their ideas among the more underpriviledged. This finally led to a break in the total group and the formation of a new group going with these outside influences, taking on revivalism, immersion, and other characteristics brought in from the outside which helped to differentiate the new group from the old. Wholesome and needed as the religious awakening was, it is clear that the economic and social conditions of the two groups helped to determine the lines of development leading toward a final division and the formation of the Mennonite Brethren Church.

Similarly one could trace the cultural factors in the establishment of Amish buggies and lack of buttons, the Hutterite communal colonies, the Holdeman beard for men and head covering for women, as well as other Mennonite groups and their peculiar social and cultural practices.

The General Conference Mennonites, in both their origin as well as in their later development is another illustration of the influence of social and cultural factors. Beginning with the Oberholtzer schism in 1847 up to the present, cultural factors were potent. One need only list such items as: the dress question and the simple life; the American public school system and the church college educating both laymen and ministers; the trend from rural to urban life with the accompanying change of vocation from farming to the professions and industrial labor; repeated immigration of various groups joining the conference, as well as other groups having been in America for generations coming into the fellowship; the shift from the German to the English language; labor unions and the lodge; and other events, and movements too numerous to mention.

More than a dozen groups with a somewhat different cultural background and a different history of migration have found their way into the General Conference. Here there are the Low Germans with their *"pluma mos"* and *"zwiebach,"* the Prussians with their *Schiekenflesch,"* the Schweitzer with their *"mak-kuche"* and Redbeet *"Borscht,"* the Galicians with their noodles and dried fruit, the South Germans with their thin coffee cake, and other groups with their peculiar preparation of food. These differences, however, are not limited to food but find expression in ceremonies, points of view and attitudes on various social and cultural questions. This diversity has militated against uniformity and sometimes even made unity difficult. On the other hand it has made for tolerance, democracy, and a rather determined sifting of nonessentials from essentials with the constant concomitant danger

of over-secularization and extreme liberalism of conference people.

III

The writer of this paper, belonging to one of these groups (Swiss) can well remember how some fifty-five years ago, he climbed a windmill tower to see what he could see.

From its towering platform he could see the boundary of his world in every direction. Five miles to the east he saw the smoke of the Moundridge mill in which neighborhood lived other Mennonites, known as the *"hiesiche"* since they were here when the writer's people arrived. These South German *"Bairish"* folk talked a very similar language but yet were a quite different tribe of the "chosen people." To the south there was the Alta Mill which was the boundary, but who knew what sort of folk lived beyond? To the north the smoke of the Missouri Pacific Railroad train was visible as it was moving along. That was the boundary there, and on the other side lived another tribe of Mennonites, with different language and customs, now comprising the Emmanual Church community toward Canton.

To the west one could see the trees along the Turkey Creek; beyond which was strange territory, stretching all the way to Inman and Buhler, occupied by a numerous tribe using a strange Low German language and having outlandish wedding and funeral customs. So strange indeed were these folks beyond the Turkey Creek, that young men and women on this side of the Turkey Creek knew very well that to cross the line to find a wife or husband was next to the unpardonable sin. For years no one ever was brave enough to undertake the venture. Furthermore, it was rumored that young people on the other side of the creek felt even less of an inclination to think about such a possibility.

But by today, 1957, all that has gradually changed: so that with seven brothers and sisters in the writer's family, of twenty-two descendants only eight married back into the Swiss, while eleven married Low German, and three went still farther out for their life mates. This trend in the entire community is steadily growing. This is true not only within the various groups in the General Conference but is also going on at an ever-increasing pace in the establishing of homes of young people of the entire Mennonite fellowship and its various branches.

In recent years the acceleration of this ever-increasing and wholesome trend has come as a blessed by-product of Mennonite Central Committee activities, especially through its C.P.S. camps, relief work, Voluntary Service, etc. As young people from various backgrounds of buggies and horses, beards and no beards, buttons and no buttons, bobbed hair and long hair, bonnets and hats, neckties and no neckties, wedding rings and no jewelry, and

many other differences and likenesses meet to work, worship, play and study together, an increasing number of marriages will cross cultural boundaries of various Mennonite branches. This trend is becoming a worthwhile contribution toward a better, more united, and enriched Mennonite fellowship.

Another example of a typical present-day institution that serves as a cultural factor in the future of this local Mennonite area is the Hesston Manufacturing Company. Nearly 100 per cent of the personnel here is Mennonite, belonging to various branches of Mennonites. Ownership and management is largely in the hands of Old Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren. The workers in the plant belong largely to the Holdeman and the General Conference group. According to a recent report 44 per cent of the workers are General Conference, 20 per cent Holdeman, 30 per cent Old Mennonite, and 6 per cent Mennonite Brethren and outsiders. What a laboratory this makes for capital and labor relations! Just at this writing there is considerable restlessness, straining the relations between management and labor. The labor union is making efforts to organize the workers. Some workers would welcome this; others shudder at the thought of it. How different attitudes of the various Mennonites toward labor unions will here be resolved remains to be seen.

In conclusion, let us be reminded that this "Cultural Conference" has been and is an important cultural factor in helping Mennonites to understand themselves. It helps to separate the cultural and social from the religious and theological strands in their heritage. This objective consideration of these various cultural elements in their background will make for a wiser discrimination between essentials and nonessentials. Only as they understand how they have come to be as they are and what the factors were that contributed toward past and present development, will Mennonites be able to give and accept proper direction toward a more wholesome and enriching future. May the Cultural Conference be blessed and used to that worthwhile end.

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[1]*The Writing of Menno Simons*, p. 195.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 377.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 1020.

ART AMONG THE EARLY DUTCH MENNONITES

*By Cornelius Krahn**

One of the greatest differences between the Swiss and the Dutch Anabaptists during the second half of the 16th century was their place in and their relationship toward the culture of their countries. The Swiss were forced to withdraw from the urban areas and centers of learning because of severe persecution and the Dutch became more and more a part of their country's culture. This basic difference was not necessarily due to a different attitude but to a different environment. During the first generation both had a number of trained leaders of urban background. In fact, the Swiss had more of them than the Dutch, but they were suppressed more severely and consistently while the Dutch gradually found toleration and gained permission to take part in the cultural and economic progress which ushered in the famous Golden Age at the turn of the century.

The Approach

In this paper we will speak of "art" as a part of culture consisting of a conscious endeavor of creating works of art such as paintings, etchings, etc. of which the Netherlands produced such an abundance during the 17th century. The Mennonites shared in the production of these works of art. Of course, if we include other forms of art such as literature and poetry, the Swiss Anabaptists also made a lasting contribution in the form of martyr hymns.

We can say that some of the artists among the Dutch Anabaptists were converted to Anabaptism and made their contribution not only to art but also to Anabaptism by placing their talent in services for the cause. Another group of Mennonite artists making their contribution to the Christian-Anabaptist cause as artists could be classified as second generation Mennonites. A third group of artists could be classified as being of Mennonite background but without making any particular contribution to the Christian-Anabaptist cause. A fourth group of artists could be classified as Mennonite fellow travelers who nominally were not members of the Mennonite church but expressed Christian-Mennonite ideals as outsiders and thus gave a lasting testimony to the cause. In many cases the demarcation lines between these groups are fluid.

The Birth of Art

Before we discuss some representatives of these four groups, a few words should be said about the birth of art among the Men-

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nonites. We will confine the forms of art to paintings and relat-
ed endeavors. When we speak about the "Mennonite community"
we mean not necessarily the "church" or the "community" in a
sense of a social entity. We mean the type of community that in-
cludes the total cultural and religious aspect of a church-commu-
nity. Another question is how could the early Mennonites of
whom we think as being withdrawn from the world, practicing
nonconformity and nonresistance, and as being a group of mar-
tyrs, persecuted by their environment, become a part of the culture
and society to which they made a contribution as artists. We
grant that this is possible at least theoretically, in a democracy,
but how could great artists emerge from among the children of
the martyrs? This brings us to the question of what constitutes
the most fertile soil for works of art. Is it the land of plenty
where the artist has an unlimited bank account and leisure? Where
did Paul write his best epistles and where did David compose the
best poetry? Under what conditions did Milton dream about
Paradise Lost and Dante produce his *Divine Comedy?* We can
probably say without too much generalization that great works of
art are born in a heart and mind with a single devotion and convic-
tion. Outward conditions are not the only factors to be considered.
The martyrs were filled with deep convictions and devotion, dying
with a song in their heart and on their lips. It is not surprising
that their children not only compiled and illustrated the stories of
their life and witness as on the pages of the *Ausbund* and the
Martyr's Mirror, but that also in their midst this song found ex-
pression in different forms. When these people with convictions
and with dreams were touched by the culture of their environment
works of art came into being.

Let me briefly point out another phase of our Mennonite history
in which a similar thing happened. This is 20th century Menno-
nitism. When the Mennonites of Russia had reached their "Gold-
en Age" at the turn of the last century and were thrown into the
inferno of Marxism some perished without a song on their lips.
Others, although they had to confess with Job that all their pros-
perity had been wiped out over night and their families had been
disrupted and many members killed, had a song in their hearts
and on their lips which they expressed in concentration camps, in
the mines and in Siberia. Some fortunate ones who reached Ameri-
ca expressed it in books, in fiction, in poems, in sculpture and
carvings. There are the Klassens, one at Bluffton and several in
Canada, who are examples of what I have reference to. With un-
broken devotion under greatest hardships they have persued only
one aim and that is "to tell the story" which burns in their hearts.
A number of Janzens and others have proven that there is artistic
talent slumbering in the Mennonite constituency which sooner or
later finds expression.

We Mennonites have no reason to despair claiming we have produced agriculturalists, doctors, nurses, missionaries, but no artists. The talent is there and when the time comes it will find forms of expression. A talent and a burning conviction are the father and mother of works of art. Of course, a congenial atmosphere with a certain amount of appreciation are helpful in promoting and fostering the development of the talent. Too many of our writers and artists have been on a starvation diet and had to seek a field of endeavor outside of the Mennonite fold and by doing so, did not make the contribution to Mennonite ideals which they could have made if they would have had an understanding sympathetic hearing or "seeing."

In this connection it may be in place to say a word as to whether "art for art's sake" is possible and if so, whether it is desirable. At times one has the feeling that we in America are too quickly ready to dismiss present Marxian theories about art according to which art is a means toward an end. And yet, it is surprising how closely related American and Marxian practices pertaining to art really are. In Soviet Russia art is a maiden of a political and economic ideology and in America we do not produce much beyond commercial art. Music, opera, painting, sculpture, just about all forms of art, not to speak of Hollywood, are sponsored by business. There is little opportunity to express "art for art's sake." And maybe there is no such thing as the expression of "art for the sake of art." Maybe even the most talented and gifted artist must be moved by a goal and objective, an end, which brings his talent to full fruition. Let us now return to the Dutch scene and consider first some artists who became Anabaptists.

Converted Artists

Carel van Mander. One of the Dutch artists converted to the Anabaptist cause was Carel van Mander (1548-1606) who was born in Flanders, Belgium, and studied art in Rome and Vienna after which he became a painter in Brugge, Belgium, and other places. Unfortunately we have hardly any information as to how he was converted to Anabaptism. We know that he had to leave Flanders, Belgium, because of persecution in 1583, and that he came to Haarlem where he became the head of an art studio. Toward the end of his life he lived in Amsterdam. Van Mander was not only an artist of significance, but also an art critic and historian who wrote one of the first Dutch histories of art entitled, *Het Schilder-boek,* which had a profound influence and was reprinted numerous times. Mander's artistic contribution is not restricted to the realm of painting and art history. As an active member of the Mennonite church he wrote many hymns and published them in the hymnbook *De Gulden Harpe* (The Golden Harp) which appeared first in 1599 and was reprinted numerous times. Not only was

this book used as a hymnal among the Mennonites of Holland, but also in Prussia. Other poetic contributions produced by him were also used.

Van Mander belonged to the Old Flemish Mennonites who emphasized the early Dutch Anabaptist views regarding church concepts, church discipline and the Christian life. Fortunately we have numerous sources to study the life and views of van Mander. Kuhler (*Geschiedenis* II, p. 124) has made a study of his *Gulden Harpe* as far as his Old Flemish Anabaptist views are concerned, and comes to the conclusion: "His Anabaptist character is demonstrated everywhere clearly; not one feature is missing in the picture." The theme and the pattern of his paintings reveal Renaissance and Biblical influences with the latter being predominant.

In Carel van Mander we have an example of how an artist was attracted by Anabaptism and how he made his talent available to the promotion of the cause. This in no way limited his field of endeavor nor talent. He is still recognized as a pioneer Dutch artist who ushered in a Protestant era in the realm of the fine arts in the Netherlands. When he died in 1606 "he was buried with a laurel wreath." He also deserves full attention in Anabaptist research.

Jan Luiken. Another outstanding artist-poet who joined the Mennonite church and who made an outstanding contribution in promoting the cause of Anabaptism is Jan Luiken (1649-1712). Luiken's father was a Remonstrant and Jan was a member of a Mennonite church for a few years. Luiken, who became famous through his *Duytse Lier* (1671), was converted to a mystical individualistic type of Christianity. Among the numerous poetic writings and the wealth of etchings which made him famous over centuries, we point out his etchings for the *Martyr's Mirror, Warre Afbeelding dereerste Christenen,** and the Bible. His son Casper joined him as an etcher. The catalogue of their etchings alone fills two big printed volumes. 3,275 etchings are known to be Jan Luiken's.

When we page through the *Martyr's Mirror* and take a look at the engravings we see immediately that he was not only a good artist who found a medium to express himself, but also that his works of art are inspired by sincere and deep convictions. Luiken has told the story of the Anabaptist faith and willingness to suffer more convincingly than anyone else. Reproductions of his poetic writings and etchings can be found in our historical libraries. Dutch scholars have studied Luiken's life and contributions but in American Anabaptist reseach he is almost entirely unknown.

Mennonite Artists

Lambert Jacobsz. Among those who were second or third generation Anabaptists and became well-known artists, who consci-

entiously made use of their talent to promote their religious convictions and testify for their cause was Lambert Jacobsz (1598-1636) who was a minister of the Waterlander Mennonite Church of Leeuwarden in the Netherlands. He was a Mennonite of deep convictions who personally suffered under the prevailing intolerance of his day and age. His forefathers had been refugees in the city of Leer, East Friesland, and Lubbert Gerritsz was his great-grandfather on his mother's side. He himself was born in Amsterdam where his father was active as minister or deacon in the Mennonite Church. The family associated with other well-known Mennonite families such as Anslo, Vondel and others. At the age of twenty he made a trip to Italy. In 1620 he was married and Vondel wrote a poem for the occasion. After his marriage he settled in Leeuwarden where he became the minister of the Waterlander Mennonite Church and an art dealer. Among the artists whose works he sold was Rembrandt, who was his friend.

Lambert Jacobsz is predominantly an artist of the Bible. Two chief features are found in his works of art. There is usually an Italian landscape or a group of people seated around the table. The first indicates Italian influence. His example was Adam Elsheimer who was active in Rome and whose pupil Pieter Lastman of Amsterdam in turn influenced Lambert.

Till 1918 Lambert Jacobsz was an unknown artist. Since that time numerous of his paintings have been discovered many of which are still in private possession, even in America. In 1936 the Friesch Museum of Leeuwarden had an exhibition in honor of its native son. The catalogue printed at that time contains valuable data about his life and work as well as a number of reproductions of his art. The Friesch Museum has some of his works of art and even the walls of the Mennonite Church of Leeuwarden are adorned by paintings of its former minister. Among his most impressive paintings are the "Doubting Thomas," and "The Apostle Paul," on display in Leeuwarden, and "Joseph Sold by His Brethren." To what extent his Anabaptist Mennonite views are expressed in the works of art has not been investigated.

Of significance is also the fact that Lambert Jacobz was an art teacher of his son Abraham van den Tempel, of the well-known Mennonite artist, Govert Flinck, and Jacob Adriaensz Backer, all of them Mennonite artists.

Govert Flinck. Of these we would like to mention Govert Flinck who was recently featured in *Mennonite Life* (April, 1957). Govert Flinck (1615-1660) was born in Cleve, Germany, across the border from The Netherlands. He was much interested in art in spite of his parents' opposition to it. His father said "May God forbid that I should bring up a son to become a painter because most of them are libertines and of low morals."

In spite of this Govert sometimes painted throughout the night according to that which he had learned from a glass painter. One night his father surprised him while he was at work and forced him to go to sleep immediately after having destroyed all his works of art. This was a great disappointment and a crisis in the life of Govert. There was no one who could understand him and his ambitions except the glass painter and even he could not help him. However, when Lambert Jacobsz, the well-known Mennonite minister and artist, came to preach at Cleve, his parents were impressed by the fact that art and Christianity do not need to be in conflict. Then Flinck became a pupil of the artist in Leeuwarden, and later went to Amsterdam to become a pupil of Rembrandt. Although later his subject matter was portraiture, history, and mythology, he has produced numerous works of art which demonstrate that the Bible and the Mennonites were close to his heart. His "Isaac Blesses Jacob" (Amsterdam) is outstanding among them. Other paintings on Biblical subjects which are outstanding works of art, are "Solomon Prays for Wisdom" (Amsterdam), "David Presenting a Letter to Uriah" (Dresden), and the "Expulsion of Hagar" (Leipzig). Among his portraits of Mennonites are "Jonas Jacob Leeuwen Dircksz," "Gozen Centen" (both of which still belong to the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam), and above all, the Dutch "Shakespeare," Joost van den Vondel (Amsterdam) who lamented the early death of Flinck by stating:

> Thus lived Appolos Flinck, removed too early from the city,
> When he, by request of the noble government,
> Was to decorate the City Hall with events from history.

Concluding he states: "Crown this Hero of art with everlasting laurels."

The early interest of Flinck inherited by family tradition and his two masters, Lambert Jacobsz and Rembrandt, was concentrated on the Bible and his friends among the Mennonites. Later the circle widened and his interest became more general. Flinck proved that his father was wrong in his early assumption that most of the artists are men of loose morals. However, it is true that Flinck did not portray the contents of the Bible as consistently as did his two masters. Success, fame, and public demand turned his interest to other subjects. His paintings and drawings can be found in the museums of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Leeuwarden, Munich, Leipzig, Berlin Paris, London, Boston, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, etc.

The Great Dutch Landscape Painters

Jacob van Ruisdael and Salomon van Ruysdael. Generally well known is "The Mill Near Wijk" by Jacob van Ruisdael (1629-1682), and some other paintings by this great master of the Dutch land-

scape. Less known is a fact that he was a member of the Mennonite church, which is also the case regarding his uncle, Salomon van Ruysdael (1600-1670). Both of them were Mennonites of Haarlem which church and community produced numerous other artists since the days of Carel van Mander. Jacob van Ruisdael joined the Reformed Church at Amsterdam in 1657.

We select these two because their works of art are universally known and are classic in form and also because here we have an opportunity to state that on the surface the works of art portray or express nothing peculiarly "Mennonite" or "Christian." Looking at these landscapes one after the other we find them to be masterpieces of landscape painting which have remained unsurpassed in Dutch art. And yet, just because the Ruisdaels painted landscapes without "preaching" we need not imply that they were not religious and that their contribution was less inspired and less an expression of a feeling which could be traced back to the church of the martyrs than those we have referred to above. They definitely convey in an excellent way the message about the greatness and majesty of the Creator, in addition to many other aspects which could be mentioned. The Ruisdaels belong to the artists who were most productive and whose works of art fortunately have been preserved in great numbers. Many of them are found not only in the leading museums of Europe but also in America. Once a person interested in art has seen a number of the paintings, he will immediately recognize a new "Ruisdael."

Bode states that Jacob van Ruisdael deserves the place right next to Rembrandt. Jacob is exclusively a landscape painter. Hardly any figure ever appears on his paintings. Brush, forests, rivers, dunes, hills and occasionally a city (Haarlem, Amsterdam) and above all the sea are his subjects. Most of his landscapes express melancholy or "Weltschmerz." It is a sort of romanticism that appealed to the nature lover Goethe very much.

Salomon is also a landscape painter. His landscapes usually consist of trees surrounding a house, a country road with cattle or horses, a river with a wooded shore, etc. Sometimes his dark colors are illuminated by a starry sky reflected in the water. The religious background and contributions of the Ruisdaels and their expression in their works have not yet been investigated. The Ruisdaels were not only great and very productive in oil painting, but also in etchings. All larger European museums have paintings by the Ruisdaels. Some of the museums of the U.S.A. which have numerous paintings are: National Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Metropolitan Museum, New York; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Cincinnati Art Museum; Art Institute of Chicago; Los Angeles County Museum.

Fellow Traveling Artists

Rembrandt. The question as to whether Rembrandt (1606-1669) was or was not a Mennonite has been raised repeatedly. On the pages of *Mennonite Life* we have helped to investigate this matter. It has become apparent that Rembrandt was not a member of the Mennonite church in the sense that he officially joined this church. On the other hand, careful investigations of his life, his contacts, his works of art, reveal that he was in close touch with outstanding Mennonite leaders of Amsterdam, through whom he received information and inspiration as artist. Many of the art critics state that his art, not only his paintings and etchings of the Mennonite minister Anslo of Amsterdam, but also his large number of paintings and etchings of Biblical subjects reveal the spirit and atmosphere of 17th century Mennonite ideals and principles more than they express Calvinistic theology which was prevalent in The Netherlands of his day. While Rembrandt was not an official member of the Mennonite church it is equally true that he was not a loyal church member of the Reformed Church to which he belonged by tradition. It is also a fact that he belonged to a spiritual fellowship among whom Collegiant Mennonites played a significant role. If his paintings devoted primarily to Biblical subjects, express some basic Mennonite beliefs, we are entitled to call him a Mennonite fellow traveler in the best sense of the word. Rembrandt also influenced a number of Mennonite artists (Govert Flinck and Samuel van Hoogstraten). Although he is too great and too universal to be monopolized by any one denomination we as Mennonites can be proud of the fact that he associated with Mennonites and found inspiration in this contact. We can be inspired by this great master of the portrayal of the Bible and gain much in our study of the Bible and in our interest in his works of art by paying more attention to him whose 350th birthday was commemmorated in 1956.

This is merely a selection of early Dutch Mennonite artists from a long list which is being added to this study. In conclusion we summarize by stating that some artists became Mennonites and made a significant contribution to the Christian-Anabaptist cause. A second group, Mennonites by birth, made a similar contribution. Of the third group, the landscape painting Ruisdaels, it can be said that no particular Christian-Mennonite witness is discernible in their art, although they are genuinely great artists. With the last group, of which Rembrandt was chosen, the circle of our presentation closes. The greatest Dutch artist and definitely the greatest Bible illustrator of the 17th century shows a spiritual kinship to the Dutch Mennonites of his day. If one of the greatest artists of all times was not ashamed to witness in this manner at the cost

of popularity and economic advantages, let us encourage and help those in our midst who have talents to follow his example.

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SOME DUTCH MENNONITE ARTISTS
By Cornelius Krahn

Name	Teacher	Type of Art	Menn. Church	Location of Works of Art
Carel van Mander (1548-1606)	Lucas de Heere	Renaissance Bible	*Member	Haarlem, Munich, Hartford
Michiel J. van Mierevelt (1567-1641)		Portrait Painter	Member	Amsterdam, Hague, Utrecht, Munich, Karlsruhe, Philadelphia, Cincinnati
Dirk van Hoogstraten (1596-1640)			Member	Amsterdam
Lambert Jacobsz (1598-1636)	P. P. Lastman	Biblical subjects	Minister	Leeuwarden, Amsterdam
Salomon van Ruysdael (1600-1670)		Landscape	Member	Amsterdam, Hague, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Kassel, New York, Philadelphia, Worcester, Sarasota, Fla., Cambridge, Los Angeles
Jakob Adriaensz Backer (1608-1650)	Lambert Jacobsz	Portrait and Historical	Deacon	Hague, Leeuwarden, Munich, Kansas City
Govert Flinck (1615-1660)	Lambert Jacobsz and Rembrandt	Portrait and Bible subjects	Mennonite-Remonstrant	Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, Munich, Hague, Cincinnati, Boston, Minneapolis
Abraham van den Tempel (1622-1672)	Lambert Jacobsz	Portrait and History	Member	Amsterdam, Hague, Leeuwarden, Berlin, Kassel
Son of Lambert Jacobsz				
Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678)	Dirk van Hoogstraten and Rembrandt	Portrait and Landscape	Mennonite-Reformed	Amsterdam, Munich, Vienna
Jacob van Ruisdael (1628-1682)		Landscape	Mennonite-Reformed	Amsterdam, Hague, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Kassel, Dresden, Braunschweig, Brussels, Leningrad, Vienna, Oslo, London, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Cambridge, Worcester, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Diego.

Name	Teacher	Type of Art	Menn. Church	Location of Works of Art
Vincent Laurensz van der Vinne (1629-1702)		Portait	Deacon	Haarlem
Adriaen Backer (1636-1684)	Jakob Adriaensz Backer & Rembrandt	Baroque	Deacon	
Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712)		Streets. Towns	Member	Amsterdam, Hague, Hamburg, Berlin, Karlsruhe, Braunschweig, Munich, Kassel, Vienna, Budapest, Florence, Paris, Leningrad, New York, Cincinnati
Jan Luiken (Luyken) 1649-1712)	M. Saeghmolen	Engraving	Member for a number of years	Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam, London, Vienna
Arnoldus Houbraken (1660-1719)	Samuel v. Hoogstraten	Portrait	Member	Berlin
Balth. Denner (1685-1712)	Fr. Amana	Portrait	Member	Hamburg, Schwerin, Budapest, Berlin, Oldenburg, Hannover, Braunschweig
Dominicus van der Smissen (1705-1760)	B. Denner	Portrait	Member	Hamburg, Braunschweig
Taco Mesdag (1829-1902)	van Buys	Landscape	Member	Hague
H. W. Mesdag (1831-1915)	W. Roelofs	Seascape	Member	The Hague, Amsterdam. Haarlem. Munich
Sientje Mesdag Houten (1834-1909)		Landscape	Member	Hague
Anton Mauve (1838-1888)	P. F. van Os	Animal Painter (sheep)	Member	The Hague. Amsterdam, Haarlem. Pittsburgh. Philadelphia, Cambridge. St. Louis. Cincinnati, Worcester, Omaha
Geesie-Mesdag van Calcar (1850-1936)	P. J. C. Gabriel	Flowers and Landscape	Member	Hague

THE MUSIC OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY ANABAPTISTS

By Mrs. Rosella Reimer Duerksen*

From the first, the evangelical church of Germany, under the leadership of Martin Luther, was deeply concerned with the restoration of the vernacular hymn in the worship service, emphasizing its didactic function as well as its adaptability to congregational participation. But early Anabaptist emphasis on the eradication from life of everything not expressly taught or commanded by God demanded a thorough re-examination of the value of music.

Conrad Grebel, in a letter to Thomas Müntzer dated December 5, 1524, denounced music as of no spiritual value and expressed complete opposition to its use in the religious meeting. Grebel considered singing an affectation, stating further, "He who sings poorly is annoying; he who sings well is proud."[1]

On the other hand, many early Anabaptist leaders, such as Felix Manz, Jörg Wagner, Jörg Blaurock, and Michael Sattler, themselves wrote hymn stanzas, so it is improbable that Grebel's attitude dominated Anabaptist thinking. It is more likely that the attitude expressed by Hutterite Peter Riedemann (1506-56) in a short treatise entitled *Vom Singen,*[2] written in 1540, characterized early Anabaptist feeling. Affirming the statement from St. Paul (Eph. 5:19) that the Christian is to sing and make melody to the Lord with psalms and spiritual songs, Riedemann continues,

> For this reason we say that to sing spiritual songs is good and pleasing to God if we sing in the right way, that is, attentively, in the fear of God and as inspired by the Spirit of Christ.

Riedemann goes on to clarify, however, that when

> one singeth only for carnal joy or for the sweet sound or for some such reason, one misuseth them [spiritual songs] changing them into what is carnal and worldly.... Likewise also, he who heareth in the letter and not in the Spirit, so with him also it is without fruit; and because they [the songs] are not used, sung and heard aright, he that so doeth sinneth greatly against God....

To sing in the Spirit is to consider "diligently every word, how far and whither it goeth, why it has been used, and how it may serve man's betterment.... To sing in any other way is vain." Riedemann concludes decisively, "Thus we allow it not among us that other than spiritual songs be sung."

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It is apparent, from the sixteenth century Anabaptist hymnbooks extant, and particularly from the many reprints issued, that religious songs played a large part in early Anabaptism. It is likewise apparent that the complete denunciation of secular singing was intended to apply only to secular song texts, and not at all to secular tunes.

Most significant of the sixteenth century Anabaptist hymnbooks still in existence are the *Ausbund* (1564 and 1583) of the Swiss Brethren, *Ein schön Gesangbüchlein* (c. 1565) of the Anabaptists in Northwestern Germany, and a twentieth century Hutterite collection of sixteenth century hymns, *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (1914), all containing hymns in the German language, as well as *Veelderhande Liedekens* (1566), *Een nieu Liedenboeck* (1562), and *Het Offer des Heeren* (1562-63), published by Dutch Anabaptists (dates given are of earliest extant editions only). Unfortunately none of these hymnbooks contain the printed tunes to which their songs were sung. All the texts merely carry with them headnotes designating the first line of a tune, or tunes, to which the stanzas were to be sung. In many instances two or more alternate tune suggestions are given.

Anabaptist leaders and hymnodists wishing to help provide a body of "Spiritual songs" for use within their movement had at their disposal a number of existing musical sources: (1) the liturgical Latin hymns of the Roman Catholic Church; (2) the pre-Reformation German nonliturgical sacred songs; (3) secular folk songs; and (4) original or borrowed tunes already popularized within the Lutheran Reformation movement. Luther and his co-workers themselves had made heavy borrowings from the first three above-mentioned sources, using a significant body of material directly from the plainsong or Gregorian chant of the Roman Church, together with sacred *Minnesinger* and *Meistersinger* songs created in accordance with the rigid rules of the medieval musical guilds, and freely constructed *Volkslieder*.

It is significant that from the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church, German speaking Anabaptists borrowed directly only one tune—that of the Latin Passion hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi* adopted for a Eucharistic hymn by Hans Hut known as *Danksagung* and used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the same manner, a Latin Passion hymn, *Crux fidelis inter omnes*, was adopted for a Dutch Anabaptist Passion text. A few other tunes of Latin derivation were adopted indirectly through the Lutheran movement. More usage was made of the pre-Reformation German sacred folk song, an example being the adoption of the *Meistersinger* song from the end of the fifteenth century, *Maria Zart von edler Art*, used among the Hutterites, as well as in the *Ausbund*. But within the realm of the contemporary secular *Volkslied*, Ana-

baptist writers found the greatest source of tunes, and it is from the standpoint of this genre that one must approach Anabaptist hymnody.

The liberal use of the secular tune in Reformation hymnody as a whole is explained to a degree by the fact that the number of available melodies during the early years of the Reformation could in no way keep pace with the production of sacred texts; further, its use facilitated the rapid learning of a hymn by the common folk more intimately acquainted with the melody of the secular song than that of the liturgical service. But a further pertinent explanation lies in the fact that many sixteenth century folk did not consider a melody as intrinsically secular or sacred; the melody was something *selbstgegeben* (absolute).[3] Luther is said to have made the statement: *der Teufel brauche nicht alle schönen Melodien für sich allein zu haben.*[4] At the same time, Luther pled for discrimination in the adoption of secular tunes, warning against the use of *fleischlichen* and *Buhlieder* (carnal- and love-songs).

Not only did Anabaptist hymn writers freely adapt their sacred stanzas to the tunes of many of the folk songs already being used within the Lutheran Reformation movement, but they used other of the folk songs—ballads, drinking songs, morning songs, and love songs—rejected within the major stream of Protestantism. A secular tune known as *Hildebrandt*, for example, achieved great popularity among both Swiss Brethren and Hutterites, although its use is unknown among other sixteenth century Protestant groups. Having originated perhaps as early as the thirteenth century (with an even earlier version dating from the eighth or ninth centuries), the *Hildebrandtlied* was sung widely until the seventeenth century. In their scholarly work on German folk tunes, Erk and Böhme[5] express surprise that this well-known folk tune was not used as the basis of a single Reformation hymn of the sixteenth century, being unaware, of course, of its Anabaptist usage. One can only assume that the tune was so inseparably bound to the *Hildebrandt* text that the major reformers, priding themselves on making discriminate selection, considered it unsuitable.

Most popular of all secular tunes was *Ich Stund an einen Morgen*, designated as the melody (or one of two or more melodies) for thirty different hymns in *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder*, for six hymns of the *Ausbund*, and for one hymn in *Ein schon Gesangbüchlein.*

Anabaptists likewise appropriated for their own use a large number of tunes from the growing body of German Protestant hymnody—largely Lutheran and Moravian—paraphrasing the original texts or adapting new texts to existing tunes. Best loved by Anabaptists of all sacred tunes was *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu*

dir, used for thirteen hymns in *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brü-der,* for four hymns in the *Ausbund,* and for one hymn in *Ein schon Gesangbüchlein.* Other Lutheran tunes achieving great popularity among Anabaptists were *Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn* (adapted by Lutherans from the secular *Linden-schmidston),* *Erzürn dich nit, O frommer Christ, Es sind doch Se-lig alle die, An Wasserflüssen Babylon, Wol dem der in Gottes forchten steht,* and nearly forty others.

It is doubtful that any hymn tunes originated among Anabap-tists themselves, but it must be noted that a number of melodic titles of great significance within their group cannot be identified directly with pre-existent melodies. Most important of these is *O Sohn David,* designated as the tune of thirty-two Hutterite hymns, as well as four *Ausbund hymns.* The tune name can be identified as the opening phrase of a hymn written by Anabaptist Oswald Glaidt, only the first lines of which are now extant:

O Sohn David, erhör mein Bitt
Und tu dich des erbarmen

While it is possible that Glaidt also composed an original tune for his hymn stanzas, it is more probable that the Glaidt text was sung to the earlier tune *Erzürn dich nit, O fromer Christ,* and that the Glaidt stanzas became so closely linked to the tune that they later served to identify it among Anabaptists; for in five Hutter-ite hymns *Erzürn dich nit* appears as a tune designation jointly with *O Sohn David,* and in all cases the strophic pattern of the former is used in hymns to be sung to *O Sohn David.*

In many other instances an Anabaptist tune designation proves to be the first line of some other Anabaptist hymn—frequently one employing a secular melody. Four Hutterite hymns, for example, are sung to the tune *Du Vater aller Güte;* although a tune by this title cannot be found today, it can be identified as that of the secular *Brenberger's Ton,* for a text by Hutterite Peter Riedemann, beginning with the words *Du Vater aller Güte* employs the *Bren-berger tune.* All four hymns to be sung to the tune *Du Vater aller Güte* are of a later date than the Riedemann hymn and employ the same strophic form. Here, as well as in other similar in-stances, is interesting evidence that Anabaptist hymn writers, al-though freely using many secular tunes, preferred to supplant their secular titles with a linkage to the sacred. Here also is strong evidence that many Anabaptist hymns were widely sung, for only through frequent usage could a familiar secular tune be-come firmly wedded with a new Anabaptist text.

Altogether the Anabaptist hymn tune suggestions represent a large collection of musical material. For the 344 hymns in *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* for example, there are a total of 179 different tune indications. For the 130 hymns in the *Ausbund,*

there are seventy-three different tune designations, forty-one of these being duplicates of Hutterite tunes. Of these numbers some are highly popular and appear repeatedly, while others, over one-half, appear only once and are thus relatively insignificant.

Stylistically, Anabaptist hymn stanzas, whether adapted to secular tunes, to Lutheran tunes, or to tunes today unknown, all have their root in the *Volkslied,* portraying great dependence upon the secular folk idiom. Strophic forms most frequently used are those of seven or eight lines, popularized by the folk songs. Rhyme schemes, likewise, reflect the folk art, and the patterns of medieval Latin hymnody are almost completely neglected. Metrical patterns are rarely adhered to with strict regularity throughout all the stanzas of a hymn, these irregularities being a further indication of the freedom and artlessness of the *Volkslied.* There is displayed among Anabaptist writers, however, a wide range of poetic ability, and in each hymnbook there are hymns of fairly smooth metrical organization together with others demonstrating roughness and awkwardness.

In some instances Anabaptist hymns are outright imitations of antecedent secular songs. One *Ausbund* hymn, for instance opens with the lines:

Wo soll ich mich hinkehren
Ich tummes Brüderlein.... [6]

With the exception of a single word, this is the beginning of the folk song called *Der Schlemmer*:

Wo soll ich mich hinkehren
Ich armes Brüderlein?

Other outright folk song imitations include *Frölich so will ich singen Mit Lust ein Tageweiss* (*Ausbund,* No. 70), *Ich Stund an einem Morgen, Ich sag ade wir zwey wim müssen scheyden,* and *Ach Lieb mit Liedt wie bistu mir so bereit* (*Ein schon Gesangbüchlein,* pp. 13, 26, and 21, respectively). In other instances Anabaptist hymnodists very slightly altered the opening lines of a folk song: *Nach frombkait mein hertz verlangt,* for example, was sung to the tune *Nach grüner farb meni hertz verlangt.*

Likewise, Anabaptist hymnodists often begin, in ballad-like manner, by requesting attention; *Merkt auff* ("Behold," or "Give heed") serves to introduce ten *Ausbund* hymns, as well as seventeen Hutterite hymns. In many other instances, hymns commence with such phrases as *Nun höret,* or *Nun merket.*

Often, in true folk song style, the closing stanzas of an Anabaptist hymn give the name of the poet or hint at his occupation or station in life. *Ausbund* Hymn No. 52 closes with

Wolff Gerolt mit seim Namen...
Diss Liedlein hat gedicht....

Ausbund Hymn No. 70 concludes;

Der dieses Liedlein machet
Sigmund von Bosch ist er genandt
Bitt Gott wer es thut singen
Das es ihm werd bekandt.

Numerous examples of this technique could be cited.

One of the most interesting frequently recurrent stylistic devices found in Anabaptist hymnody is the use of acrostic verse. Many times the Anabaptist poet so arranged the initial letters of consecutive stanzas as to form his name; *Ausbund* Hymn No. 71, for example, carries a headnote indicating that it was composed by Hans Büchel. The initial letters of each stanza spell out *HANS BIKNEL SCDDMACHER,*[7] and were very likely meant to read *Hans Büchel* (or Bickel) *Schuemaker* (cobbler). The distortion of the acrostic suggests both that the hymn underwent change through aural or handwritten transmission before publication and that the editor of the *Ausbund* was unaware of its existence, having made no attempt to restore it to its proper form.

Sometimes an acrostic served to state briefly the story or message of the hymn or to present a religious confession. This technique was particularly popular among Hutterite hymnodists. A hymn relating the story of the journey of captured Hutterite prisoners to Triest, for example bears the acrostic *HINZUNG DER GEFANGNEN BRVEDER Gen Triest whol an das Meer.* The song which immediately follows has an acrostic reading *UND IR ER-LEDIGUNG.*[8] A hymn which serves as a narrative of imprisonment has the following acrostic: *HANS KRAL GEFENGKNUS LIED WIE IM GOT BEIG'STANDEN.*[9] In a few instances acrostics were even used to transmit personal messages.[10]

In characteristic folk song or ballad style, Anabaptist hymn stanzas greatly exceed in number those of the average Protestant hymn sung today. Among *Ausbund* hymns more than fifty contain twenty or more stanzas, while a great many Hutterite hymns contain well over forty or fifty stanzas. Among the latter, four hymns exceed one hundred stanzas, with the most extensive Hutterite hymn being one based on the Old Testament Apocryphal book of Tobit containing 130 eight-line stanzas, with a total of 1040 lines.[11]

It is inconceivable that hymns of such lengths could be used in a religious gathering. While sixteenth century Anabaptist religious meetings were undoubtedly not restricted to the one-hour service prevalent in Protestant churches today, it is plausible to assume that only selected stanzas from long hymns were used. This practice is reflected in Amish services today, where part of a hymn may be sung at the opening and continued at other points in the service.

True again to the nature of the Volkslied, Anabaptist hymnodists practiced little restraint or sophistication, but presented their experiences, feelings, and beliefs freely in the stanzas which they penned. Thus one finds in these hymns not only the expression of lofty religious ideals, but also the homespun theology of the peasant, his simple understanding of the tenets of the Christian faith, and his attitudes toward the common relationships of life. One finds also specific reactions to the political and religious upheavals of the period.

Very significant in these hymns is the continual emphasis on the belief that while man is saved through faith in Christ, he must respond to the grace of God by being a *Nachfolger Christi* (disciple of Christ). This implies bearing the fruit of righteousness, exemplified particularly in the practice of Christian love in all relationships and in the expectation of suffering, persecution, and martyrdom.[12]   An enormous body of material in Anabaptist hymnody, likewise, deals with the practice of believer's baptism, and the interpretation of the Lord's Supper as an act of remembrance. Refutations of the Roman Catholic positions are sometimes scholarly and highly explicit, at other times interestingly naivé, as, for example in the following lines on transubstantiation:

Wir können Gott nit essen,
Er ist ins Himmels Thron.... [13]

and again,

Man isst Gott nit wie Brodte.[14]

Other doctrinal topics treated include the use of the ban, the practice of footwashing, the swearing of oaths, the belief in the Incarnation, the attitude toward the Bible, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the belief in an imminent eschatology.

In a manner characteristic of the early Reformation period, Anabaptist hymnody contains many lashing criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church and the framework and leadership of the entire ecclesiastical system, often voiced with complete lack of restraint. Luther, too, is vehemently criticized, one writer calling him *der rechte Ziegenbock*.[15] Other writers sadly admit having looked to Luther or Zwingli for leadership, only to be disappointed by their lack of emphasis on the disciplined Christian life.

In addition to the devotional and didactic hymns, there are in Anabaptist hymnody many martyr ballads. While the writing of the Reformation martyr songs actually began with Luther's *Ein newes Lied wir heben an,* written in 1524 to commemorate two martyred Augustinian monks, more ballads of this kind were undoubtedly written among Anabaptists than in any other Reformation group. The texts of these ballads suggest that little attention was given to poetic qualities; rather, the stanzas were the poignant

expression of deeply felt tragedy. Thus there evolved a highly stereotyped pattern among most songs of this type.

Generally the Anabaptist martyr hymn commences with a brief introduction—a plea for attention, a prayer for courage or mercy, or an affirmation of faith. In Dutch hymns these introductions invariably set the mood of sadness and lament; in Swiss-German hymns they are often surprisingly happy. Then follows the tale of martyrdom, with the author giving first the places and names involved in the tragedy and then, in chronological order, a brief description of the capture and imprisonment of the victim, followed by an account of his trial. It is often in the latter that the martyr's convictions receive elaboration, and that the didactic value of the hymns makes itself most felt. A statement of the sentence is followed by a description of the execution itself—a hanging, a drowning, or a burning at the stake—sometimes in vivid detail. Usually a final exhortation to remain faithful concludes the martyr ballad.

As a whole, the worth of sixteenth century Anabaptist hymnody does not lie in its originality, in excellence of rhyme and rhythm, or in expressiveness of language. In all these areas it falls far short of the standard of the best contemporary hymns. The fact that it was rarely dignified or objective, but extremely personal and of an occasional nature, has undoubtedly been responsible for its failure to survive in the worship services of most descendants of sixteenth century Anabaptist groups.

The style and form, as well as the tune adaptations of Anabaptist hymns present an interesting paradox. For, while, the Anabaptist leaders consistently stressed the fact that the Christian must maintain a distinct separation between himself and the world, it is precisely in the hymns of the Anabaptists that one discovers the closest linkage to the "world," both in the use of secular tunes and in the use of styles and forms immediately related to the *Volkslied*. This paradox can perhaps only be resolved, in the mind of the contemporary student, by the recognition that within the realm of the cultural naiveté of the sixteenth century Anabaptist, little significance was placed upon distinctions which appeared between patterns, in both poetry and song, traditionally linked to the sacred and those evolved from the secular. Perhaps, where there was such a recognition, the traditionally sacred forms were deliberately avoided because of their association with a religious and political system vehemently denounced by Anabaptists.

Their lack of literary quality does not imply, however, that Anabaptist hymns are of no interest or value today. It is through these hymns, with their lack of pretense, that one can most clearly enter into the historical background of these people to understand

their convictions and sufferings. These are expressed with simplicity and freshness; they are expressed with a depth and a genuineness which speak with great force against the many earlier historians who attempted to reduce the Anabaptist movement to a group of rebellious fanatics of the nature of the Münsterites.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid, ed., *Quellen Zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz* (Zurich: S. Hirzel, 1952), pp. 14-15.

[2]Peter Riedemann, *Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith,* translated by Kathleen E. Hasenberg (Bungan, Suffolk: Richard Clay and Co., 1950), pp. 123-124.

[3]Friedrich Blume, *Die Evangelische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), p. 13.

[4]"It is not necessary for the devil to retain all the fine melodies for himself."

[5]Ludwig Erk & Franz Magnus Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Liepzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1925), 1, 71

[6]*Ausbund,* No. 76.

[7]In the spelling out of acrostics, capital letters are here used for each letter which stands at the beginning of a verse or stanza of poetry.

[8]*Hutterischen Brüdern in Amerika, Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1914), p. 93 and p. 95. A translation of the first acrostic reads, "Journey of the captured brothers to Triest near the sea." The second reads, "And their rescue."

[9]*Ibid.,* p. 538. "Hans Kral's prison song relating how God stood by him."

[10]See, for example, *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* pp. 630 and 636.

[11]*Ibid.,* p. 244.

[12]This emphasis has been called the "theology of martyrdom." See Ethelbert Stauffer, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIX (July, 1945), 178-214.

[13]*Ausbund,* No. 17; *Een Lietboecxken,* No. 3. "We cannot consume God; He is in the Heavenly Throne."

[14]*Ausbund,* No. 12; *Het Offer des Heeren,* No. 7. "Man cannot consume God like bread."

[15]*Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* p. 153, "the real Billy Goat."
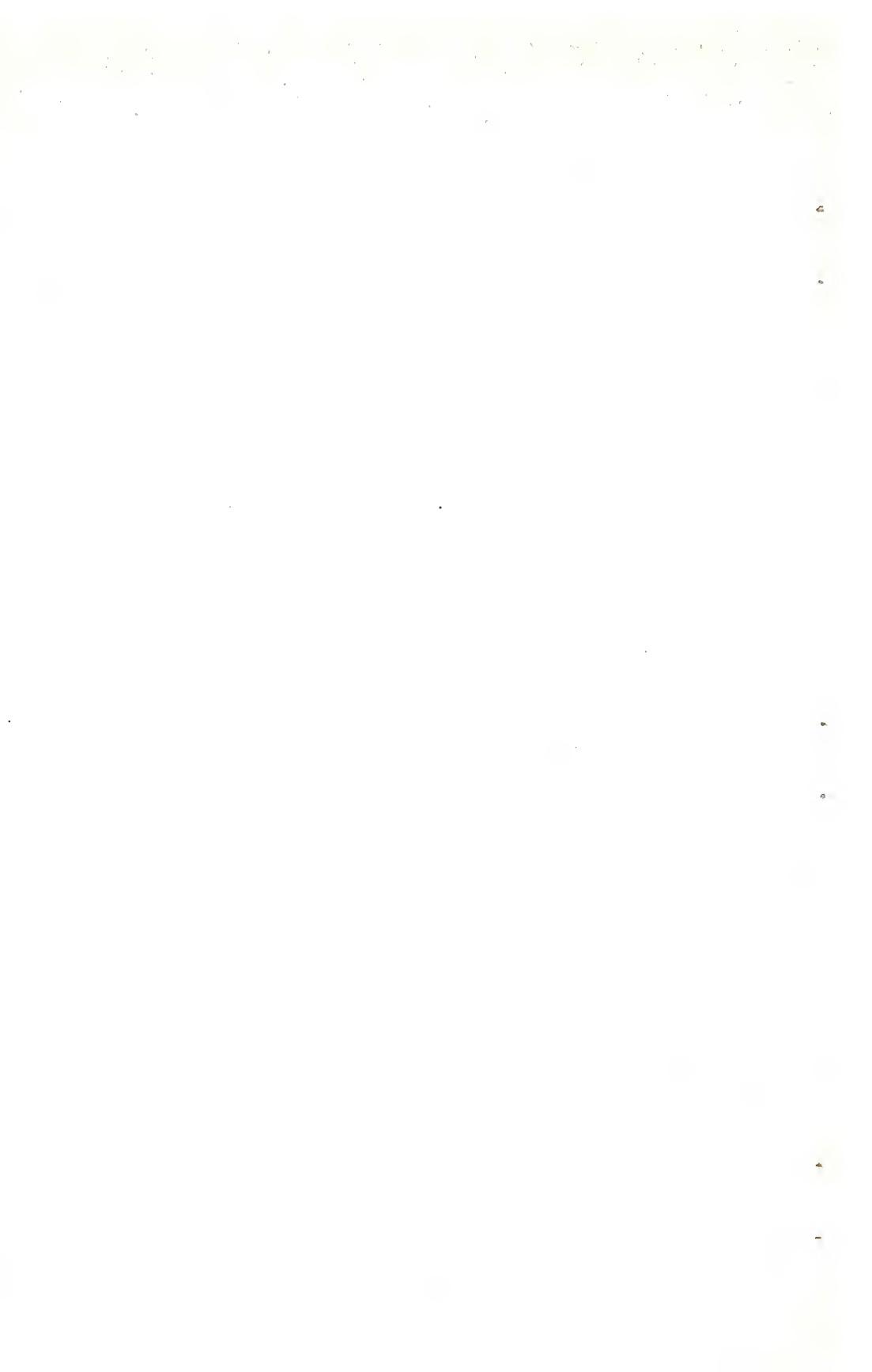
SPENSER'S VIEW OF THE ANABAPTISTS

By Wesley Prieb*

When Menno Simons died in 1561 in the little village of Wuesten-feld, a nine year old boy was attending the Merchants Taylors' school in London. His ambition was to establish himself in court as a writer. The climax of Edmund Spenser's life came when he read the first three books of *The Faerie Queen* to Queen Elizabeth in whose honor it was written. The success of the story was im-mediate.

Whether Edmund Spenser knew much about Menno Simons is uncertain; it is clear, however, that he did know something about the Anabaptist movement, for he devotes an entire episode in the second canto of the fifth book of *The Faerie Queen* to this subject. In his treatment of the Anabaptists Spenser reflects the typical Elizabethan hostility toward a movement that the leaders of the English Renaissance never completely understood. It is the pur-pose of this paper to discuss the conflict of two systems of thought which are brought together in a head-on clash in Spenser's alle-gory, the duel between the Elizabethan world picture and the Ana-baptist movement.

The Faerie Queen is an elaborate allegory in which Spenser deals with the old problem of the Renaissance—individual charac-ter in relation to the state. The story was to show forth the pri-vate virtues of the ideal knight. Spenser completed only five books and started the sixth. The six virtues, personified as chivalrous knights who serve the queen, are Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy. In book five Justice is repre-sented by Artegall, who, in one of his adventures, encounters an Anabaptist personified as a giant with a huge balance in his hands. The giant is a radical non-conformist and a reformer who, with his balances, intends to establish equality and freedom both in na-ture and society. The giant is surrounded and applauded by a crowd of sympathetic commoners. The giant encourages his fol-lowers:

> ... I will throw downe these mountaines hie,
> And make them levell with the lowly plaine:
> These towring rocks, which reach unto the skie,
> I will thrust downe into the deepest maine,
> And, as they were, them equalize againe.
> Tyrants, that make men subject to their law,
> I will suppresse, that they no more may raine;
> And Lordings curbe, that commons over-aw;
> And all the wealth of rich men to the poore will draw.

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To rid the world of this threat directed against the established world order, Spenser sends his knight Artegall, attended by Talus, his bodyguard, against the giant. During a lengthly argument the knight tries to convince the giant that it is not his business to change the existing order and that social and economic inequalities are decreed by God:

> All in the powre of their great Maker lie:
> All creatures must obey the voice of the most hie.

> They live, they die, like as he doth ordaine,
> Ne ever any asketh reason why.
> The hils doe not the lowly dales disdaine;
> The dales doe not the lofty hils envy.
> He maketh kings to sit in soverainty;
> He maketh subjects to their powre obay;
> He pulleth downe, he setteth up on hy;
> He gives to this, from that he takes away.
> For all we have is his; what he list doe, he may.

> In vaine therefore doest thou now take in hand,
> To call to count, or weigh his works anew,
> Whose counsels depths thou canst not understand.

When argument fails, the knight resorts to violence. Not willing to soil his aristocratic hands, he orders his bodyguard to push the giant into the sea and to disperse the crowd with his flail.

In this story of the giant Spenser reflects the religious, political, and economic conflicts of his age. The traditional "weltanscaung" of the church and state, defended by Artegall, is being challenged by a vociferous group of Anabaptists, the so-called communists of the sixteenth century, defended by the giant. Spenser's sentiments are not merely personal prejudices; they are sentiments rooted in the world picture of the Elizabethan Age, the outlines of which were determined by the views of the Middle Ages.

The world picture of the Elizabethan Age was ruled by a general conception of a universe divinely ordered. This picture, a medieval picture, was threatened by such influences as Machiavelli, to whom the idea of a universe divinely ordered throughout was repugnant, the Copernican astronomy, and the new commercialism. Nevertheless, the old order was not easily upset, and it lingered in the minds of the most eminent men of that period—Spenser, Sidney, Raleigh, Hooker, Shakespeare, and Jonson.

This world picture can be described by what Pope later called the "vast chain of being." This chain, which forms the backbone of the Elizabethan world order and is frequently in the background of Spenser's mind, must be considered in detail, for it was the strength in each link of this chain that hindered the Anabaptist movement.

The nature of the "chain of being," which can be explained only at the risk of making something appear like a definite system

that was probably only a vague idea with its share of inconsistencies, is well described in *The Elizabethan World Picture* by E. W. Tillyard.

The chain, says Tillyard, was thought to stretch from the meanest of inanimate objects to the throne of God. Every speck of creation is a link in this chain. At the bottom there is mere existence: the elements, liquids, and metals. The links in the chain arrange themselves in an hierarchy: the water is superior to the earth, the ruby is nobler than the topaz, the gold, than brass. The links, without allowing any gaps, gradually ascend to existence and life, the vegetative class, where again the oak is nobler than the bramble. Next is the animal world which ranges from the lowly shellfish to the king of the beasts, the lion. The midpoint of the chain is man, who sums up in himself the total faculties of earthly phenomena. Beyond man the chain continues in the realm of the rational or spiritual. The vast numbers of good and bad angels are as precisely ordered along the chain as the elements or the metals.

Although all the creatures and the elements are assigned to a precise place in the chain, there is a possibility of change. The chain is not static. It serves as a ladder. Tillyard says there is a progression in the way the elements nourish plants, the fruits of plants, beasts, and flesh of beasts, man. There is a tendency of ascent towards God. This progression, however, must be oderly. No link may bypass another.

Another charming attribute of this chain is that every link excells in some particular. The lowly stones exceed plants in durability; plants excell animals in assimilating nourishment; the beasts possess more physical energy than man; man excells the angels in his power of learning. Each link has its compensations, no matter what part of the total chain it happens to occupy.

Within every class there is a primate, examples of which are the gold among the metals, roses among flowers, the dolphin among the fishes, the eagle among the birds, the lion among beasts, the emperor among men, the head among the body's members, fire among the elements, the sun among the stars, and God among the angels.

The "chain of being" made vivid the idea of a related universe in which no part was superfluous; it enhanced the dignity of all creation, even the meanest part of it. It helped the mystically minded to see ultimate unity in almost infinite diversity, and it provided a means of ascent above the normal level of man's nature.

The implications of the "chain of being" are widespread and difficult to isolate. One of the most important implications of this world picture is that the state, like the rest of the universe, con-

sists of divinely sanctioned degrees, shading from monarch to churl. The order of things in nature confirmed the system of classes in society. "It was a commonplace," says Tillyard, "that order in the state duplicates the order of the microcosm." The two orders are put side by side in the 1547 book of Homilies:

> In the earth God hath assigned kings princes with other governors under them, all in good and necessary order. The water above is kept and raineth down in due time and season. The sun moon stars rainbow thunder lightning clouds and all birds of the air do keep their order.

This system of thought tended to discipline social stability, under which it would be as absurd to level social distinctions as to build a body of a number of the same limbs.

The state was seen as an organism like the human body, and each part of the body must help the others and be helped by them. Beauty in the body politic consisted in the proper proportion to one another of the different parts or classes. Each class in society was as firmly fixed as the members of the body, and it was as useless to complain abount rank and status as trying to transform a foot into an arm.

In its ideal expression this world order assumed obedience to superiors and generosity in inferiors. There was, to be sure, one law for the common people and another for the nobles, but there was the recognition that all people are subject to the laws of nature and consequently owe each other a certain mutual respect which transcends all differences of rank.

Realistically, however, the gulf fixed between the gentlemen and the commons, a gulf which denied the latter a share in the management of the society of which they were a part and forbade them to try or even wish to better their state, tended to foster contempt for the vulgar and hatred for the superiors. Spenser is not beyond his age in his unsympathetic aristocratic air towards the people. He is not complimentary to the intelligence of the common people, although he does credit them occasionally with the capacity for virtuous action. What contempt there is in the line about the giant's influence:

> Therefore the vulgar did about him flocke,
> And cluster thicke unto his leasings vaine,
> Like foolish flies about an hony crocke.

And how anxious Artegall is to avoid staining his hands,

> For loth he was his noble hand t'embrew
> In the base blood of such a rascall crew.

Another implication of the "chain of being" was a certain fatalism which resisted reformers. The existing state of things could not be tampered with, not only because it would mean interfering

with the laws of nature but tampering with something that was ordained by God. Spenser accepted Calvin's doctrine of predestination. That man's life is ruled by a predetermined fate is seen throughout the pages of *The Faerie Queen*. There was little a person could do to change his lot; he could only have faith in a God who had already determined his fate.

Another doctrine of Calvinism was the total depravity of man. Although the "chain of being" enchanced the dignity of all creation when looked upon as an ascent to God, it also allowed the interpretation that man is basically evil, because it was thought that on the descending scale the links became worse and worse as the distance from God increased. Since man was at the lower end of the chain, he was therefore far from perfection. Man's place in the chain made his imperfection inevitable. The Calvinists saw in this imperfection the total depravity of man, from which only God could redeem him. Since there was little man could do, this doctrine provided another comfortable excuse for the indifference of many to suffering humanity.

The anti-democratic implications of the "chain of being" are at once obvious. Democracy contradicted almost everything the hierarchy stood for. The sixteenth century was still afraid of democracy, sharing to some extent the ideas of Plato. Spencer too was influenced by Plato's *Republic*. Mohinimohan Bhattacherie, in *Studies in Spenser,* quotes Plato in discussing Plato's influence on Spenser's view of democracy:

> Tyranny in the state is thus the direct outcome of Democracy. In a Democracy people enjoy the utmost license and do away with vested rights. They kill or banish rich men and divide their wealth equally amongst themselves, grasp the sovereign power and use it recklessly. "Democracy comes into being after the poor have conquered their opponents, slaughtering some and banishing some while to the remainder they give an equal share of freedom and power." The Democrats are led by demagogues who urge them on to wreck and destroy old institutions by holding up before them a glorious vision of equality and liberty.

Spenser's giant is based on these ideas of Plato. Spoliation of the rich, equal distribution of wealth, and emancipation of the people are the tasks to which the giant sets himself. This, of course, could not be tolerated by the aristocratic mind because it contradicted pre-eminence in degree.

This brief summary of the "chain of being" helps us to understand the unique fear of chaos during the Elizabethan Age, a fear which hindered progress because it resisted social changes. Elizabethans, including Spenser, were afraid that the earthly order would be upset by visible tokens of disorder that suggested its upsetting. "They were obsessed," says Tillyard, "by the fear of chaos

and the fact of mutability; and the obsession was powerful in proportion as their faith in the cosmic order was strong."

If the fear of chaos forbade the nobles to invite radical changes, the dream of an Eden of equality of goods and privileges provided the excuse for the commons to agitate for an improvement of their lot. During Spenser's life three revolutionary incidents occurred which illustrate the growing tension between the nobles and commoners. These three incidents probably influenced Spenser's view of the Anabaptists.

The Peasants' War of 1525 in Germany and Tyrol is the first incident. The hope of regaining Eden coupled with the proper economic provocations and a high degree of religious fanaticism became a revolutionary force. It was this revolution that very likely gave birth to Spenser's giant and stirred the imagination of the world in such a way that it was not soon forgotten. This was a war against feudal oppression and all constituted authorities. It was an attempt to establish by force an ideal Christian commonwealth, with absolute equality and the community of goods. The insurgents were defeated at Frankenhausen, and Münzer was executed together with other leaders.

Here was a force which threatened to topple the beautifully constructed ladder to heaven in which the church and state found comfort. It was a thought that could not be endured; the militant church was aroused to action in an attempt to suppress these levelers and blasphemers. The mind of Europe was caught in a dilemma. It must be either the preservation of the existing order of society sanctioned by history and the authority of the Bible, or the leveling down of all distinctions of rank and property. The imagination of the time could not discover a third course.

A second and more violent attempt to establish a theocracy was made at Münster, in Westphalia, in 1532. Munster was called the new "Zion," which was supposed to be the capital after the conquest of the world. The arbitrary and extravagant measures taken by this mad army of "Gideon" were supposed to be justified by authority and visions from heaven. With this pretended sanction polygamy was legalized. Bockhold, known in history as John of Leydon, the leader of this revolution, took four wives, one of whom he beheaded with his own hand in a fit of frenzy. For twelve months Münster was a scene of unbridled profligacy. After an obstinate resistance the town was taken by the besiegers on June 23, 1535, the leaders being tortured and executed. This outbreak at Münster was the crisis of the Anabaptist movement.

The direct effects of the Peasants' War cannot have been very great in England, although the anxiety to keep the realm clear of Anabaptists leaves no doubt that fear of them and their ideas was a great concern of the governing classes. Under Edward VI the

series of disturbances which reached their climax in Ket's revolt in 1549 became a revolutionary force.   This revolution was a protest of the poor against the "enclosures" of the farms and commons by the landed gentry, who found sheep raising more profitable than the feudal dues paid by their tenants.

Ket established a communistic regime in East Anglia for a brief period.   Around him swarmed 20,000 countrymen who tried the captive gentlemen by scores.   The peasants cried out for their hanging even though they could find no reason except that they were gentlemen and therefore not worthy to live.   The mob around Ket grew every hour in the expectation that he would fulfill the promise of Spenser's giant:

> Tyrants that make men subject to their law,
> I will suppress, that they no more may raine:
> And lordings curbe, that commons over-aw:
> And all the wealth of rich men to the poore will draw.

Ket's revolution was still fresh in men's memories when Spenser was a child.   When it is remembered that Sir John Spencer, the family with which Spenser claimed a relationship, gained his wealth and prominence from raising sheep on enclosed land, it seems quite probable that Spenser saw in Ket the giant of disorder at work again.   After Ket was overthrown, there was little open advocacy of advanced democratic principles in England, except for a few bold pamphleteers, such as Robert Crowley.

That the leveling tendencies of the Anabaptist sect were associated with Ket's disturbance by the English people is demonstrated by the extreme measures taken to suppress the Anabaptists during the reign of Elizabeth.   In the year 1567, according to Frederick Padelford, their presence was considered so grave a menace that the following proclamation was issued against them:

> The Queen's Majesty understanding that of late time sundry persons, being infected with certain dangerous and pernicious opinions, in matters of religion, contrary to the faith of the Church of Chryst, as Anabaptists, and such lyke, are come from sundry parts beyond the seas into this her realme, and speciallye into the citie of London, and other maritime townes, under the colour and pretence of flying from persecution against the professors of the Gospel of Chryst: whereby if remedy be not speedily provided, the Church of God in this realme shall susteyen great danger of corruption, and sects to increase contrary to the unitie of Chryst's Church here established.
>
> For redresse whereof, her Majestie, by advice of her Counsayle, having commanded the Archibishop of Canterbury, Byshop of London, and other Byshops to see the parishes in London, and other places herewith suspected, to be severely visited, and all persons suspected to be openly tried and examined, touching such phanatical and heretical opinions; willeth and chargeth all manner of persons born eyther in

forreigne parts, or in her Majesties dominions, that have conceaved any manner of such heretical opinion as the Anabaptists do hold, and meaneth not by charitable teaching to be reconciled, to depart out of this realme within twenty days after this proclamation upon payment of forfiture of all their goods and cattelees, and to be imprisoned, and further punyshed, as by the laws eyther ecclesiastical or temporal in such case is provided.

Many other citations appear in legal and religious documents of the age to indicate the unfavorable reception given the Anabaptists in England. "Citations without number," says Padelford, "might be given to show that it was generally believed that the Anabaptists, like the giant, though pretending to be reformers, were, in reality, stubborn sowers of dissension, distorting the Scriptures and tending to alienate the minds of men from each other and to dissolve the bonds of society through their denial of property rights, social distinctions, and civil and ecclesiastical authority."

The Peasant's War of 1525, the theocracy at Münster in 1532, and Ket's revolt in England are all associated with the Anabaptist movement in Spenser's mind. This revolutionary force represents to Spenser a threat to orderly society and a violation of the Elizabethan concept of private virtue. Spenser's personification of this force in the form of a vulgar giant is an artful method of defending the Queen and her kingdom against such threats, inspiring loyalty to the authority of the court and the church, and preserving the status quo with all its aristocratic privileges. The giant must be drowned: this Spenser accomplishes by having him shoved into the sea. So ends Spenser's allegory, but not the Anabaptist movement.

It is difficult to draw any sweeping conclusions from Spenser's allegory, but a few observations are in order. In the first place it is obvious that Spenser, along with other Elizabethan leaders, did not make a distinction between the serious, sober-minded, peace loving Anabaptists and the more radical revolutionists, a distinction that most Mennonite scholars are very careful to make. The original pacifistic Anabaptists never sanctioned the violent methods of the revolutionists; yet they suffered by association because the authorities of the state failed to distinguish the different groups on the basis of principles, finding it convenient to herd all the revolutionists in the Anabaptist camp.

The second observation is that though Spenser's giant is a misrepresentation of the Anabaptist movement as we know it, he does embody some of the ideals of the Anabaptist movement on its highest levels. Although the peace-loving Anabaptists suffered by association with violent revolutionists, it is safe to say that for the Elizabethans the Anabaptist movement at its best was still

too radical. Their daring individuality with reference to the state, their strenuous sense of non-conformity, their anti-institutional sentiments, their highly personalized faith, their democratic tendencies in relation to freedom of conscience all represent a threat to Spenser's concept of world order.

Finally Spenser's story suggests that in the turmoil of the Elizabethan world many democratic ideals that are today woven into the fabric of our society were considered extremist views during the sixteenth century. A reading of Spenser suggests that the Anabaptist movement, though not appreciated at the time, made significant contributions towards the democracy of the future.

THE CHANGING ECONOMIC BASE OF THE MENNONITE COMMUNITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CERTAIN KANSAS COUNTIES

*By J. Lloyd Spaulding**

In strictest accuracy the data which will be analyzed in this brief paper will enable us to focus our attention on the shift from agriculture to non-farm occupations in specific Mennonite farm communities. This shift occurs in two ways, first by the farm operator's taking a non-farm job in the usual manner, and second, by the assumption by the operator of a part time non-farm job, but remaining on the farm and retaining responsibility for its management.

The method followed will be, first, to analyze relevant census material with reference to the central Kansas counties of Harvey, McPherson and Marion where Mennonite rural people live in numbers.

Second, some facts will be presented from certain student reports bearing upon occupational shifts in their congregations from 1946-56. These reports are made on the basis of an analysis of the occupations of church members on the two dates a decade apart. The congregations are found in the above three counties. Such evidence might be expected to be consistent with census data, or if one assumes Mennonite communities are immune to the trends in the entire community this hypothesis may also be tested.

Third, other student analyses of their congregations in Oklahoma and Nebraska will be presented to check their consistency with the other evidence presented.

Farm Size

For many years the U.S. census has provided us with agricultural data every fifth year. Although size in acres is a most rudimentary criterion as to the size of farm business, and the well-being of the rural people staffing our farms, it has been a criterion long used and it gives certain limited insight into our problem. Primarily two census periods will be used in this analysis, 1950 and 1955, with data referring to the year prior to the date of the census.

These data in Table 1 clearly indicate a decline in the absolute number of farms in the size class intervals below that of 260-459

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acres in all three counties. The 260-499 class interval increases absolutely in all counties but one, and proportionately in all counties. This class interval remains the modal group in all counties and in all years under analysis. The class interval of 500 acres and over increases absolutely and proportionately in all counties from 1949 to 1954. In general, these data reveal trends that have been under way for a number of years. The counties exhibit a fairly uniform pattern of change.

Economic Classes of Farms

By the use of sampling technique in the last two census periods, investigators have been able to describe the agriculture of the United States more carefully than has been possible heretofore. This analysis and classification by economic classes yield us the following results in the three counties under study. (This sampling technique accounts for discrepancies between the county totals in number of farms in 1954, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, for example.)

As can be seen in Table 2, the noncommercial sector of the agriculture in these three counties moves from 16 per cent of the farms in Harvey County to 6 to 8 per cent of the farms in the other two counties. The other farms refer to part-time, residential and ab-

TABLE 1: Classification of farms in Harvey, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas, by size in acres, 1949 and 1954[1]

Farm Size Acres	Harvey County				McPherson County				Marion County			
	1949		1954		1949		1954		1949		1954	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 100	403	26.7	315	23.0	422	18.3	328	15.5	317	15.3	263	13.6
100-179	319	21.2	272	19.9	581	25.2	502	23.6	480	23.2	373	19.4
180-259	284	18.8	266	19.4	498	21.6	424	20.0	476	23.0	419	21.7
260-499	413	27.4	413	30.2	632	27.5	652	30.7	643	31.1	682	35.4
500 & over	89	5.9	102	7.5	171	7.4	217	10.2	152	7.4	191	9.9
TOTAL	1508	100.0	1368	100.0	2304	100.0	2123	100.0	2068	100.0	1928	100.0

[1]U. S. Census of Agriculture. Calculations by the author.

TABLE 2: Classification of farms in Harvey, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas, into commercial farms and other farms, 1949 and 1954

Classification	Harvey County				McPherson County				Marion County			
	1949		1954		1949		1954		1949		1954	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Commercial farms	1273	84	1221	86	2131	92	1941	92	1937	94	1793	92
Other farms	235	16	190	14	173	8	175	8	131	6	165	8
All farms	1508	100	1411	100	2304	100	2116	100	2068	100	1958	100

Other farms are classified as follows:

Part-time farms are those whose sales of farm products amounted from $250-$1,999, if the operator worked 100 days or more off

the farm in 1954, or if non-farm income received by him or members of his family was greater than value of farm products sold.

Residential farms were those on which the sales value of farm products amounted to less than $250, or those on which the operator worked off the farm for more than 100 days in 1954, or those on which income from non-farm sources was greater than that from the sale of farm products.

Abnormal farms were those operated by institutions, experiment stations, grazing associations, and other community projects.

normal farms. In general these farms do not produce for the market and are, as is intended by implication, noncommercial. We will refer to them as such in the remainder of the paper. This group for the entire state amounts to 15 per cent of all farms in both census periods. These "farms," however, must be accounted for in our further analysis of work off farms.

Before we pay specific attention to this problem, however, an analysis of the commercial sector of agriculture in these counties must be undertaken.

Table 3 gives a clear indication of two trends between the census of 1950 and 1955. The first of these is a general decline of all class intervals where the value of produce sold amounts to less than $5,000. Intimate knowledge of price and crop conditions in each of the specific years would be desirable to interpret the deviations from this trend where they occur, as in Marion County in 1954. Cash income from farm marketings amounted to $1,001,419 in 1949, and had fallen to $951,392 in 1954 for the state of Kansas

TABLE 3: Classification of commercial farms in Harvey, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas, by their economic class, 1949 and 1954

| Economic Class Value of Farm Prod. Sold | Harvey County | | | | McPherson County | | | | Marion County | | | |
| | 1949 | | 1954 | | 1949 | | 1954 | | 1949 | | 1954 | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
25,000 and over	24	1.9	70	5.7	62	2.9	57	2.9	17	0.9	22	1.2
10,000-24,999	221	17.4	237	19.4	143	6.7	336	17.3	169	8.7	304	16.9
5,000-9,999	306	24.0	429	35.2	694	32.6	807	41.6	649	33.5	536	30.0
2,500-4,999	367	28.8	285	23.4	787	36.9	531	27.4	604	31.2	586	32.7
1,200-2,499	263	20.7	125	10.2	357	16.8	160	8.2	355	18.3	230	12.8
250-1,999	92	7.2	75	6.1	88	4.1	50	2.6	143	7.4	115	6.4
All-Com. Farms	1273	100.0	1221	100.0	2131	100.0	1941	100.0	1937	100.0	1793	100.0

Commercial farms in general include all farms with a value of farm products sold of $1200 or more. Farms with sales of $250 to $1,199 are classified as commercial only if the farm operator worked off the farm less than 100 days, or if the income of the farm operator and his family received from non-farm sources was less than the total value of farm products sold.

as a whole. The second trend is a consistent increase in the proportion of farms with a sale of products of $10,000 and over. The class interval of from $5,000—$9,999 is also irregular in its behavior in Marion County and general crop conditions and prices from one year to the next might cause many farms to fall in one class interval or the other with little basic change in enterprises or intensity of operations. We have no ready measure of the processes utilized to achieve larger value output per farm, although the trend is consistent with the increase in larger acreage per farm as we have already noted.

Work of Farm Operators off Their Farm

The criterion under scrutiny by the Federal census for the longest period of time with reference to non-farm employment is the days worked off the farm reported by the operator. We can make this comparison for three census periods in our counties under observation, 1944, 1949, and 1954. This data will cover approximately the span of time covered by the church data available to us.

Perhaps the most striking information gained from Table 4 is the shift to non-farm employment which occurred from 1944 to 1949. While the trend has continued from 1949 to 1954 the more drastic shift occurred from 1944-1949 in spite of drought and other subsequent incentives. However, none of these data reflect any influence on employment of the two mobile home plants in Newton, for example. Closer to the influence of Wichita, Butler County in 1954 reported 50.2 per cent of its farmers reporting work off the farm, with 33:5 per cent reporting 100 days or more. Whether added employment opportunity would produce much more non-farm employment than found in Butler County is questionable, although employment off the farm in our counties under investigation might well rise to a level approximating this magnitude before the trend toward non-farm employment levels off.

One other fact which has been analyzed in the past two agricultural census periods is the number of farm families in which the other income of the farm family exceeds the value of farm produce sold. This information in Table 5 allows for the influence of the earnings of wives or other family members not otherwise accounted for.

In 1954 the proportion of farms showing an excess amount of non-farm income over farm income are about the same as the noncommercial farms analyzed above, in all cases being equal to or slightly above the proportion classified as noncommercial farms. The degree to which the proportion of farms enjoying large non-farm income exceed the proportion of noncommercial farms indicates the degree to which workers on otherwise commercial farms have sought employment off the farm. In Butler County while

TABLE 4: Proportion of Farm Operators Reporting Work off Farm in Harvey, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas, in 1944, 1949 and 1954.

Year	Harvey County		McPher. Cty		Marion Cty.	
	All Operators Reporting	Operators Reporting 100 Days or More	All Operators Reporting	Operators Reporting 100 Days or More	All Operators Reporting	Operators Reporting 100 Days or More
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1944	15.4	6.4	15.3	6.0	11.7	3.2
1949	40.3	16.8	42.9	13.4	30.1	9.0
1954	49.8	24.1	54.0	24.8	49.4	12.1

TABLE 5: Proportion of farms on which other family income exceeded the value of farm products sold in Harvey, McPherson, and Marion Counties, Kansas, 1949 and 1954.

Year	Harvey County			McPherson County			Marion County		
	All Farms	Non farm income Above farm income	Per Cent	All Farms	Non farm income Above farm income	Per Cent	All Farms	Non farm income Above farm income	Per Cent
1949	1508	251	16.6	2304	274	11.9	2068	180	8.7
1954	1411	202	14.3	2116	327	15.4	1958	232	11.8

the percentage of farms classed as noncommercial amounted to 20.2 per cent, the farms where income from family labor exceeded the value of farm production amounted to 31.7 per cent of all farms.

Off-Farm Labor by Tenure Classes

Although the data are not available on a county basis, in Table 6 we can learn something further about the relationship of off-farm work in the state as a whole to the several tenure classes in the year 1954. It is likely that the same general relationships would be found in the three counties under more intensive study.

Farm owners reported the smallest proportion of any tenure group working off the farm as would be expected because of the expectation of their being relatively well off and because typically they are older men. Tenants reported the largest proportion of active farmers working off the farm or 49.6 per cent. The census identifies another group which does not fit the regular tenure pattern, indicated as "other" farmers. Of this group, 73.5 per cent reported work off the farm. This group corresponds fairly closely in number to the noncommercial farms in 1954.

Modifications of the above pattern prevail when an analysis of the farms reporting more than 100 days work off the farm is made. In the first place, the "other" farms show 65.2 per cent of their operators working more than 100 days off the farm. These people are not farmers for the most part. They may be retired persons.

Tenants do not work off the farm for more than 100 days per year much more frequently than owner operators. However, part owners do work off the farm 100 days or more with somewhat less frequency than other of the other two tenure groups. These men are likely to be those who have the most advantageous arrange-

TABLE 6: Relationship of farm operators reporting work off the farm to the tenure of operator for selected tenure groups, Kansas, 1954[1]

Tenure Group	All Farms	Operators Reporting Work off the Farm		Operators Reporting 100 Days or More Work off the Farm	
		No.	%	No.	%
Owner	32,136	10,237	31.8	4,575	14.2
Part Owner	38,925	14,109	36.2	3,750	9.6
Tenant	29,775	14,760	49.6	5,033	16.9
Other	17,579	12,916	73.5	11,461	65.2

[1]This analysis omits 1,617 farms on which no report as to non-farm work was made and 259 farms operated by managers. The total number of farms in the state in 1954 was 120,291.

ments with respect to land, capital goods, and family labor. There is less time to devote to work off the farm and less incentive to do so. We have no way of knowing to what degree this work off the farm contributes to the tenant's advance into farm ownership or is a source of productive capital, or consumers goods.

Summary

Probably at no time of which we have record in Kansas have we as much combination of farm and non-farm occupations. In spite of somewhat limited employment opportunity such a relationship is demonstrated to a considerable degree in three "rural" counties under special study.

1. Farm size in acres is enlarging gradually in these counties and number of farms declining (Table 1).

2. The commercial sector of agriculture demonstrates a trend toward more farms with gross value of product sold ranging from $5,000 and over. (Table 3) This trend is generally consistent with the larger farm size in acres.

3. The noncommercial sector—"other" farms—remains ,a fairly constant proportion of the declining number of farms.

4. The proportion of farm operators reporting off farm work has increased significantly since 1944 in our countries. The shift from 1944 to 1949, however, was more pronounced than in the subsequent period of 1949-1954. Drouth plus new employment opportunities have doubtless strengthened this tendency.

5. The noncommercial sector of agriculture accounts for only 46

per cent of those farmers working off the farm   more   than   100 days per year. It also accounts for a significant but unknown proportion of farms where the family income from other sources exceeds the value of farm products sold.

6. In 1954 owner operators found work off the farm (1954) with less frequency than part owners or tenants. However, the part owner works more than 100 days off his farm with less frequency than the other tenure groups analyzed.

Shifts to Non-Farm Occupations in
Certain Mennonite Congregations in Central Kansas

The data presented in the following sections come from class reports on the occupations of heads of families who were members of churches in Central Kansas in the three counties previously analyzed. The reports were made by Bethel College students who were asked to go over the roll of church members in 1946 and in 1956 and determine the occupational status of each family head in each year, noting particularly those engaged in work other than farming. Special attention was also given to those heads of families formed since 1946. Three predominantly rural churches yield approximately the same results and these we will discuss first. They are the Bethel Church of Inman, Kansas, the Tabor Church of Goessel, Kansas, and the Zoar Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church of Inman, Kansas. These churches were analyzed by virtue of the fact that students from these congregations became interested in this problem during the past year, and not through any planned approach to the problem. The soundest analysis is to present briefly the apparent situation in each congregation, partly because the methods of analysis differ slightly between investigators, partly because church congregations are complex institutions in themselves and are far from homogenous at any given point in time. Again, the focus of analysis will be to discern (1) shifts out of agriculture, (2) combination of agriculture with non-farm work. Can we find evidence apparent in these congregations of the same trends noted by the U. S. census?

Zoar Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, Inman, Kansas

In 1946 out of the 112 family heads reported on the church roll, 93, or 83 per cent were engaged in farming. The balance of 19 members, 17 per cent, were engaged in non-farm work. Only one family head in 1946 was listed as being engaged in farming plus some other kind of work.

In 1956, 115 members were reported on the church rolls. Of this number, 63, or 55 per cent, were engaged in farming and 52 followed some other occupation. This shift represented a decline in family heads found in agriculture over the period of from 83 per cent to 55 per cent, 28 percentage points. Some of this shift

represents retirement from farming and may well be part of post World War II adjustment. Perhaps fully as significant, 29 heads of families engaged in farming, or 46 per cent, now list farming plus some other occupation. Failure to recall such combinations a decade earlier may contribute to this divergence, but with any such allowance, an important change is evidenced here. Four farm families of the 1946 congregation are recorded as adopting a new non-farm vocation during the decade. Lastly, of the heads of families formed since 1946, now on the roll, 19 out of 32 such families were in some non-farm job.

This congregation established a church in Hutchinson during this period and some 33 heads of families transferred there as well as to other churches. These members transferring out were predominantly farmers in 1946. Their present occupation was not indicated, but it should not be inferred that these people left farming.

No farmers are reported having moved to the farm from non-farm occupations during this period.

Bethel Mennonite Church, Inman, Kansas

In 1946, 67 of the 95 heads of families found in this congregation, or 70 per cent, were engaged in farming as a major occupation. Thirty per cent were employed outside of agriculture. Only 5 of the members indicated a combination of farming and other work in 1946.

In 1956 out of 143 family heads, 49 were engaged in farming while 94 were non-farmers. The percentages are farmers, 34 per cent; non-farmers, 66 per cent. In this congregation the shift away from agriculture represents 36 percentage points from 70 per cent to 34 per cent. Of the 49 family heads still farming in 1956, 16 or slightly less than one third were engaged in another occupation in addition to farming.

In the Bethel Church, out of 48 heads of families formed since 1946, 37, or 77 per cent, were engaged in non-farm occupations. Fifteen family heads of the original 95 are recorded as having changed from farm to non-farm occupations during the decade.

No farmers are reported having moved to the farm from non-farm positions during these years.

Tabor Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas

In the Tabor Church in 1946, 143 families were found upon the church rolls. Of this group, 97, or 68 per cent, were engaged in farming, while 32 per cent were employed outside agriculture. This distribution is fairly similar to the Inman Church. At this time only 3 of the members combined farming with another means of livelihood.

In 1956 farming claimed 84 out of the 173 members, or 48 per

cent, of the members. This shift was less drastic than that observed in the two previous churches. In 1956, 23, or 27 per cent, of the farmer members were engaged in farming plus another occupation. In the Tabor Church of the 57 families which had been formed since 1946 still on the rolls, 33, or 58 per cent were not engaged in farming. Ten family heads were reported having changed from farming to non-farm jobs during the decade.

Among the family heads analyzed in this congregation 2 farm laborers in 1946 were found as farm operators in 1956. This was the only evidence of an "agricultural ladder" with a farm labor rung in these congregations among heads of families in 1946.

Walton Mennonite Church, Walton, Kansas

The Walton Mennonite Church is a smaller, newer, village church. In 1946 twenty of its thirty members were farmers. By 1956 only 15 out of 38 family heads were farming, about 40 per cent. Of 8 new family heads since 1946, 5 were non-farmers. Five of the 15 farm families in 1956 listed a farming plus occupational status, although this was little change from a decade earlier. Four families had shifted from farm to non-farm occupations in the decade. One farmer in 1956 was reported in 1946 to have been a teacher. This instance is one of two reported in Kansas churches where men moved from employment off the farm to a farm. This church pretty much fits the previous pattern without sufficiently large numbers to ascribe much significance in relative changes within the structure of its congregation.

The First Mennonite Church of Hillsboro

The First Mennonite Church of Hillsboro had the lowest proportion of farm membership of any of the Kansas churches, 36 out of 111 members or 32 per cent being farmers in 1946. In 1946 none of the farmer members indicated a farming plus occupation.

In 1956, 25 members out of 120, or 21 per cent, were farmers and five of the farmer members indicated a farming plus occupation. Seven members had moved from farming to a non-farm occupation during the decade. Of the 9 heads of new families formed since 1946, 4 are farming and 5 are in a non-farm occupation. A farmer was found in 1956 who had been a teacher in 1946.

While this congregation shows some of the same tendencies as the other congregations analyzed, the impact of the change in agriculture is less sweeping than on congregations composed almost wholly of farmer members.

Summary

Although the impact of the change in agriculture is less apparent in some Mennonite congregations studied than others, the

whole pattern of change is consistent with that which one would expect to find on the basis of census information.

Other Congregations

With reference to these areas we do not have the benefit of analyses of the background material from the census. Two of these congregations reveal somewhat different patterns from those previously analyzed.

New Hopedale Mennonite Church, Meno, Oklahoma

In 1946, 52, or 73 per cent, of the 71 heads of families reported were engaged in farming. In 1956 this relationship was 56 per cent farmers and 44 per cent non-farmers. The membership in 1956 was 88 family heads. Five members shifted from farming to non-farm occupations during the decade. Of the 50 family heads farming in 1956, 14 reported a farming plus occupation.

In general, this situation reflects a pattern similar to our Kansas churches.

First Mennonite Church, Beatrice, Nebraska

In 1946, 70, or 74 per cent, out of 94 heads of families reported were engaged in farming. By 1956, 59 out of 95, or 62 per cent, were still engaged in farming. This is the least shift of any of the congregations thus far reported. Five members shifted from farming to non-farming occupations during the decade. However, 19 out of 25 new heads of families formed since 1946 were found in farming in 1956. This congregation was the first studied in which farming claimed the major share of the new family heads formed during the decade. This might reflect a situation unique to the local congregation. One laborer and one businessman left their occupations for the farm during the decade. The impression created by these data is one of greater stability and much less change.

Bethesda Mennonite Church, Henderson, Nebraska

The Bethesda Mennonite Church was the largest congregation of those analyzed in this study. It is also the most stable on the basis of criteria utilized in other congregations.

The chief indication of pressure ꞌon the farm population is indicated by the fact that 18 of the 139 farmers on the rolls in 1946 had left for a non-farm occupation by 1956. Two non-farmers in 1946 had taken up farming by 1956.

In general in 1946, 56 per cent, or 192 of the 340 reported family heads were farming. In 1956, 54 per cent, or 228 of the 421 family heads were reported farming.

In neither of the Nebraska churches was a dual occupation reported for farmers—farming plus. This fact may be accounted for by differences in reporting.

It was not possible in this report to isolate the heads of families formed since 1946.

Census material would aid materially in interpreting these latter data, but the material here suggests much less shift of occupation and combination of farming with other occupations.

We have seen urban and rural components of our society becoming increasingly interrelated during the last two decades or longer. The thrust of the urban worker into the countryside is not new in the vicinity of large cities. In the Middle West the search of the full time farmer for urban work to supplement his farm income is a relatively more recent pattern.

We suggest that this relationship may exist in greater or lesser degree as, (1) opportunity for non-farm employment exists within easy access, (2) pressure from dwindling agricultural income and high costs mounts, (3) the type of agriculture can be oriented to the dual role of less than full time farmer, and (4) a marketable skill is owned by the farmer and or his family for which there is an outlet in non-farm jobs.

The data we have examined suggest that rate of change in this respect may vary considerably from one community to another. With all of the problems of an industrial way of life superimposed upon the stresses of commercial farming, though the remuneration may be satisfactory, and the force of circumstance dictate the shift, one cannot but wonder what kind of adjustment will be forthcoming if these conditions continue to multiply.

PATTERNS OF CULTURAL ASSIMILATION AMONG MENNONITES

*By Calvin Redekop**

I. STATEMENT OF POSITION

For maximum understanding and communication concerning the topic under discussion here, it is necessary that the basic positions I have taken on this subject be stated. As a Christian, the following assumptions serve as basis for the discussion. 1) The concern that pervades all others is calling all men to become members of God's Covenant Community.[1] 2) The particular culture in which I find myself has no direct religious significance (Romans 10:12). 3) The church has always operated within specific cultures which has posed the problem of interpreting Christ and culture.[2]

The last principle has created much confusion and chaos because we know that the way we structure the "world" or outer reality depends upon our mechanisms of perception. Our mechanisms of perception are in turn almost completely determined by our environmental training.[3] The implications of these facts have tremendous ramifications for all of our conscious life. But specifically for our present concern, this means that the way we perceive the Bible, Christ, God's will and other basic elements is implicated in the general milieu or ideology which we accept. Indeed, some scholars go so far as to say that the vocabulary we use determines our world view.[4]

For us as Mennonites this means that our perception of the world is determined by the past, and that our perception of the future is determined by the experiences of the past and present. The least we must do therefore if we want to achieve a clear picture of the Mennonite Church's faith and its relation to culture is to try to gain as clear and unattached a perspective as possible of the relation of our knowledge to our cultural environment.[5] It is because we feel that culture has much to do with our faith, that we have spent so much energy and risked so much unity in trying to define what is "profane" and what belongs within the Covenant Community.[6]

II. CULTURE, ACCULTURATION, AND ASSIMILATION

1. **Definition of Terms.** Minimal agreement on the meaning of terms must be reached before communication can proceed. There are many definitions of culture. Each definition has some insight

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to offer. Probably one of the better ways to define culture is to try to find elements basic to every culture through cross-cultural comparisons. One such attempt lists the following elements as universally present in every culture. This definition will suffice for our discussion. Culture is: 1) learned 2) inculcated, 3) social, 4) ideational, 5) gratifying, 6) adaptive, 7) integrative.[7] Thus we would gather that culture is acquired, taught to us by our predecessors, the result of social interaction, and guided by an ideal view of the world. It is also the method of physical and social adaptation.

There is as yet no satisfactory definition or concept of acculturation.[8] We will need to very carefully choose our meanings here so that it will assist rather than hinder understanding. Acculturation in this context will mean simply the acceptance of cultural traits of one group from another group.[9] Thus if one group drives buggies, and the other drives cars, acculturation is the adoption of cars or vice versa, which is more rare. Acculturation is a process. No value judgments need be given when acculturation is referred to. No "secularization" or "worldly" connotations are given to acculturation in this paper.

Assimilation is a concept about which there is even less agreement. Again for our purposes, we must agree upon a usable concept. Using principle 2 above, namely, that cultural forms are irrelevant to Christian revelation, assimilation would mean the acceptance or integration of particular cultural values as basic to a unified world view, i.e., accepting a strange culture as integral to the value system. Assimilation is not identical to the concept of secularization. Secularization refers to the transformation of "profane" values into sacred," while assimilation refers to the exchange of one value system for another which includes secularization only if we feel the earlier cultural system was less "worldly" than the later accepted one. The assumption, very prevalent in our brotherhood, that an exchange of one cultural pattern for another invariably means secularization is false. E. K. Francis' study of the Manitoba Mennonites, and E. C. Hughes' study of the French Canadians, among others, indicate that acculturation does not always mean assimilation.[10]

The above definitions complicate our problem when we remember that the Mennonite church has historically been an ethnic group, and has tended to produce a peculiar culture which has become equated with the true Covenant Community. Thus, the Mennonite church has tried to separate cultural elements from eternal religious elements in culture, but by so doing has become an ethnic group which by definition is a particular type of culture. The Mennonite church has therefore by default tried to preserve

the historical cultural form which was felt to be most commensurate with God's will.

With this introduction, let us tie the concepts into a logical framework if possible so that we can look at some cultural patterns. Acculturation denotes a process of accepting strange cultural elements. Assimilation means accepting the basic values underlying these cultural elements. Secularization means the exchange of sacred for profane values as desirable.

III. MENNONITE ACCULTURATION PATTERNS

We will deal in this section with the major culture patterns which we agree have changed among Mennonites. A methodological note needs to be inserted here. Studies of acculturation, assimilation and secularization necessarily involve time lapse, for to look at any community at only one moment in time gives us no clue as to what is happening. We must see the community in at least two points in time. This fact limits the amount of material that can be utilized.[11]

A. **Technological Acculturation.** This area is no longer as interesting as it has been, for with the exception of several groups the Mennonites are now quickly adopting most technological developments. The most interesting thing now is the immediacy with which they were accepted. It appears that the Mennonites are accepting technology with more immediacy than they were a quarter of a century ago. Only one example can be cited to illustrate. The radio was accepted at varying rates by different groups, but in the main, it is safe to say that it took at least 25 years for some of the more conservative groups to acquiesce to it.[12] At present, it seems, television is rapidly becoming accepted, though official church regulations have not condoned it.[13] It would seem safe to say that, except in a few areas, the Mennonite groups have shortened the "cultural lag" of technological acculturation.

B. **Family Practices.** There are several observable changes in practices relating to the family which we shall use here: 1) Family size. The average American family size has shrunk considerably in the last 50 years or so. However, the fact that the Mennonite family size has shrunk too indicates that the Mennonites have adopted a practice of the culture around them, and the fact that the trend followed rather closely the American trend is significant.

2) Birth Control. This point is closely related to the above, although it has unique characteristics. Birth control is fairly prevalent among Mennonite families today. It is alleged that the population pyramids for the Mennonites of Manitoba offer conclusive evidence that birth control was very quickly accepted after World War I.[14] In the community study of Mountain Lake, the earlier Mennonites around 1900 were not bothering with the problem,

probably because birth control practices were not widely known. However in 1950 the Mennonites to a large percentage (73%) knew about birth control and were in favor of it or practiced it.[15]

3) Intermarriage.   There is good reason to believe that there was little intermarriage with other faiths in the earlier history of the Mennonite church, at least in America.[16]   However, it seems that intermarriage is a very common practice, and serves especially well as a justification mechanism for leaving the Mennonite church.[17]   John A. Hostetler reports that out of 227 ex-Mennonites, 70% had married non-Mennonites.[18]   Intermarriage is thus an acculturation in so far as it is a prevalent practice in American society in general to marry on the basis of individual standards rather than ethnic or group standards.[19]

C. **Educational Acculturation.**   There are at least two levels upon which educational acculturation can occur.   One is the acceptance of American educational aims, practices and techniques into our own educational system.   The other level is actual utilization of out-group educational elements in place of our own.

It is difficult to deal adequately with the first level of acculturation.   It can be said however that the objectives for the founding of all our Mennonite institutions were to serve the faith of the Mennonite church.[20]   It is therefore significant to note, for example, that in the report of a curriculum study sponsored by Hesston College which clearly states the founding fathers' intentions for Hesston, the general problems for faculty study in 1955 do not include the problem of Hesston's function as an instrument of the propagation of the Mennonite principles of faith.[21]

It is much easier to bring facts to bear on the second level of educational acculturation, namely, outright utilization of non-Mennonite educational systems.   Since compulsory state school attendance complicates pre-college education, only college attendance will be treated.   In Mountain Lake, Minnesota, during the years 1950 to 1954 only 24% of the young Mennonite high school graduates who were church members or children of Mennonite church members went to Mennonite colleges.   In the Manitoba study similar conclusions are reached.   Between 1932 and 1947 Mennonite enrollment in the University of Manitoba alone jumped from 19 to 88.   The qualification that Mennonite colleges did not exist can not be raised for either of the communities cited, for both studies were done long after the seven Mennonite colleges were founded.

D. **Occupational Activity.**   It is almost universally agreed that the Mennonites were almost exclusively farmers when they landed on American soil.   It is even proposed that the breakdown of Mennonite solidarity came about precisely because Mennonites, by their

lack of interest in business and service enterprises in the community, practically invited non-Mennonites into their closed communities.[22]

The situation is rapidly changing at present. Farming is no longer the only profession of Mennonites. The Mennonite Occupational Study, conducted by the Mennonite Research Foundation in 1950, revealed that only 45% were farmers and farm managers. The remaining percentage was divided among ten other occupational classifiications.[23] Another culture trait that is closely related and in some ways resultant from occupational change is leisure. The farmer's leisure is scarce, and usually centers around the home. With occupational change, leisure time emerges. No decisive data is available to the writer at present. It is however significant that many of our conferences have issued statements discouraging certain uses of leisure time.[24] Church statements concerning leisure time among the Mennonites is at least logical if not conclusive proof that American leisure practices are being adopted by Mennonites.

E. **Language.** Language has been a powerful factor in maintaining the solidarity of Mennonites.[25] At varying stages in the history of the different Mennonite groups, the ethnic language was exchanged for the dominant national language. The acculturation of languages is almost complete, except for late refugee groups. A residual still exists among some groups however. For example, Platt Deutsch is still spoken in some Russian Mennonite communities by the older people, and Pennsylvania German is known by some of the older people among the Swiss Mennonites.

F. **Church Structure and Function.** The adoption of American church patterns by Mennonites is increasing. Much could be said here, but it will suffice to quote a few of the items of the typology of acculturation of sectarian groups to the predominating American church pattern as stated by Liston Pope:

> 16. From a high degree of congregational participation in the services and administration of the religious group to delegation of responsibility to a comparatively small percentage of the membership. . . . 19. From reliance on spontaneous "leadings of the Spirit" in religious services and administration to a fixed order of worship and administrative procedure.[26]

These two alone out of 21 such patterns which Pope mentions should convince us that acculturation is taking place to a great extent in Mennonite church practices.

G. **Way of Life.** It has been proposed that the early American Mennonites viewed farming as a type of activity closely commensurate with a particular way of life.[27] Their economy was a subsistence economy. Their family life was authoritarian, and closely

tied to values of togetherness. Social life was group oriented.[28] Religion was a group affair. Governments were viewed as princes who related themselves personally to the Mennonites as a group. These characteristics have undergone a transformation so that now Mennonites no longer conceive of themselves as a group but as individuals in a competitive society. In brief, the competitive way of life of American society has been exchanged for the community type of living practiced earlier. The Mennonites have thus accepted a major proportion of American cultural practices by adopting the competitive system as decisive in their lives. It is in fact the theory of Robert Park and others that the "market place" is the best disseminator of new and strange ideas. Park maintains that the participation in the economic "market place" activity has shunted the Mennonites and Amish down the road toward acculturation.[29]

It would seem that the Mennonites are now in the third stage of a three stage cycle—from Community of Believers, to Community of Relatives, to Community of Individualists. In each stage however the community concept has suffered progressively, so that "Community" for the Individualist stage is hardly applicable.

IV.   MENNONITE ASSIMILATION PATTERNS.

We have dealt with some of the major acculturation patterns among Mennonites. The major intent of this paper relates to the problem of assimilation, that is to say, the acceptance of different value systems. The decisive question here becomes, "What relation does acculturation have to assimilation? Is acculturation an index of assimilation? Is assimilation an index of secularization? Does the acceptance of a cultural element, such as styles of dress, mean that the underlying values of styles and functions are also accepted?"

It will be most practical and instructive if we discuss one area of acculturation and try to relate it to the questions of assimilation and secularization. These theoretical formulations can then be generalized to the other areas. For an illustrative case we shall look at education. That acculturation has taken place here is fairly well established. Does this mean that we have also accepted American values relating to education, both as to content and form?

A. **Assimilation as a Process.** Let us first look a little closer at some of the prerequisites necessary for assimilation to occur. 1) First of all, some **contact** with the out-group culture is assumed. In fact, contact is often forced upon us. Thus in order for the Mennonites to organize their own school system they need state approval and training. This is forced acculturation.[30] The Mennonites were forced to accept some of the practices of the out-group

in order to establish some of their own. This applies in other fields as well, especially the economic.

2) A second prerequisite is that the people accepting a new value must feel that the new value is **legitimate,** and actually more **universal** than the former value.[31] This is called the "strain for consistency" in sociological literature. It is the body of theory which states that there is a tendency for the mores and norms within the individual to form a consistent and logical whole. Within groups, there is a strain for all members to effect a congruence of values and cosmology. Finally, there is a tendency for smaller groups to align their basic mores, norms and values with the larger and universal society.[32] Closely allied with the strain for consistency is the problem of freedom and guilt, which individuals encounter as they tend to leave the group. This however can not be treated here.

3) A third prerequisite is that assimilation will not occur unless the strange value is seen as more useful, desirable and **rewarding** than the value that is discarded.[33] Thus a value which engenders continuing ridicule by the reference group which is decisive for the individual or group will tend to disappear.

4) A fourth prerequisite which was referred to in the preceding one is the necessity of an out-group as a reference group. The reference group is that group which constitutes one or more of three orientations for the individual, namely: a) the group in which he wants acceptance; b) the group whose perspectives constitute the frame of reference for the individual; c) the group which serves as a checking point used by the individual in forming an estimate of the situation, particularly his position in it.[34]

B. **Change of Identity.** With the above prerequisites assumed to exist, what actually happens in the assimilation process? It seems to me that the most fruitful way to look at assimilation is from the perspective of personal identity.[35] Social organization can exist only if people possess some form of self-identity. A Christian, for example, must have some type of identity before he can think and act as he does.

A normal person brought up in a normal Mennonite environment has only one identity—that of being a member of a particular group of people with particular beliefs and practices. His identity is fairly well unified—he is a Mennonite. But, unless there is absolute isolation, he will sooner or later encounter non-Mennonites who give different interpretations to situations and give the Mennonite under consideration the first suggestion that he might have other identities. We shall now use education as the case in point. From grade school through graduate school the Mennonite encounters other interpretations of elements formerly only identi-

fied in one way. This satisfies the first prerequisite for assimilation—namely, forced contact.

The prerequisite of universalization and legitimation is met by the process whereby the individual discovers that the larger society holds a value which is well nigh universal. For example, the student discovers that the relativity of religions is fairly well accepted by the academic world. The strain for consistency is thus the process whereby the individual decides that the more universal principle must be right.

The third prerequisite, namely, desirableness and higher reward value of the strange element is difficult to isolate fully. The factors which determine why one cultural element is more gratifying than another are involved and interdependent. Though this needs further thought, the principle of pain-pleasure is involved. This is to say, a cultural element which offers more pleasure or enjoyment will usually be accepted in exchange for a more ascetic one. All things being equal, a young Mennonite student, for example, will accept academic habits and beliefs which are more pleasant than the ascetic hard-working Mennonite patterns.

The fourth prerequisite, namely, tension with a highly significant reference group, serves to encourage the individual to slough off as rapidly as possible any "queer" beliefs and habits which the individual has. Thus, for the student to believe in fiat creation when most of the academic and learned world says evolution is established, is possible only if he does not care about the academic world, nor aspire to become a member of it.

The change of individual identity occurs as the individual goes through the experience outlined above. As the individual encounters new definitions of various situations, and of himself as well, he is confronted with several alternative ways of defining himself. In solving the dilemma of evolution, for example, the Mennonite student asks himself: "Am I a Mennonite or an academician when I decide this question?" (Reference Group) "Can I decide this question with an identity as an academician, and still maintain another identity as an orthodox Mennonite in other areas of life?" (Universalism) "On the level of these theoretical questions, which identity would I rather take, the Mennonite or academician?" (Pleasure-Pain) "Concerning my 'cosmology', which group would I rather take as reference, the Mennonite or the more universal academic cosmology?" (Universalism) "Which group possesses the more desirable world view?" (Pleasure-Pain)

Whether or not individual identity is completely rational or is largely unconscious is not important here. It is important to realize that identity formation is an integral part of assimilation, and may indeed be an interpretation of it. In any case, it will be obvious that assimilation does not occur as an integrated unified

process, and may accur at different levels and at different speeds.

In the study of 14 Mennonite students attending universities in and near Chicago, referred to above, this was one of the more important findings that was obtained.

> Most of the responses .... suggest that there might be a "life career" in the movement of a Mennonite from the time he was initiated until the time he is asked to reflect upon his movement. This "natural career' of a changing identity may be made up of several stages or phases. The first stage is where ego is merely the result of being a member of a group. Then comes a transitionary stage in which experiences isolate or splinter his identity, causing some parts of his identity to move away from the Mennonites while possibly others are more closely identified. One respondent put it very succinctly: "I changed in many areas. But in one area I changed toward a closer relationship to the church—in the area of Anabaptist belief, because I learned that the Anabaptist beliefs were best!"[36]

Thus it should be clear that the concepts of assimilation and identity are closely bound up in the problem of acceptance of strange value systems. Where the person identifies himself as an academician rather than a Mennonite, the student has assimilated, for he will take the "world view" of the academician rather than the Mennonite. Therefore, assimilation may be hypothesized as being that degree of acceptance of non-Mennonite reference group perspective (value system) in the various aspects of life.

The acceptance of American educational practices and standards is not automatically a sign of assimilation, but it does hint that the identities are not entirely Mennonite, for if that were the case, the Mennonite educational system would be geared to Mennonite standards and beliefs irrespective of any outside standards.[37]

A test case has been made of education. Other acculturation patterns listed above, and many not listed, could as well be subjected to the above analysis. There is some reason to believe that assimilation precedes acculturation.[38] If this is the case, then strict outward adherence to certain "nonconformed" practices as practiced among more conservative sections might spell locking the barn after the horse is stolen. There is not enough information at present to warrant a definitive statement on the question.

Similarly there is not enough material available at present to indicate the relative importance of the various cultural patterns in the process of assimilation. In other words, is the acculturation of American education values more decisive in the transition from Mennonite beliefs than family patterns? It is evident that the Mennonites have been ignorant of the varying influences of cultural traits in the assimilation process. It is quite probable that acculturation in some areas does not lead to assimilation, while in others it does. Thus for example adoption of farm machinery is

acculturation, but need not lead to assimilation. On the other hand, adoption of the national language may inevitably lead to complete assimilation. It is advanced by many social psychologists that language is a decisive method of defining situations. "It has often been said that the history and interests of a people are reflected to an astonishing degree in their language."[39] In fact, some linguists state that "The structure of the language one habitually uses influences the manner in which one understands his environment. The picture of the universe shifts from tongue to tongue."[40]

If these hypotheses are true, then it is obvious how acculturation of language inevitably means assimilation. For acceptance of a language under this hypothesis would mean using the world view the language possesses. So regardless whether one wears clothes that are different, does not engage in American recreation, and refuses other types of Americana, yet accepts their language, he is inevitably bound to take the world view of the Americans, since languages mold world views.

A major dimension which has not been touched in this paper is that part of culture which can be classified as neither sacred nor profane. This is commonly referred to as the "adiaphora." It is certainly obvious that there are many elements in every culture which can not be neatly classified. Thus, Christians find themselves utilizing many cultural traits used by non-Christians, as, for example, cooking food before eating it. It is true that as Christians, we are concerned mainly with the sacred and profane elements in a culture. But precisely this attitude may have blinded us to studying the whole field of the "adiaphora." A study of the non-moral might serve to substantially clarify what for the Christian is moral or immoral, and what in his thought process is moral, immoral, and amoral. This problem needs to be seriously studied.

V. CONCLUSION

We have noted some major acculturation patterns. We have seen how assimilation may be related to acculturation. To say we have assimilated is uninteresting however, unless we say that certain cultural patterns of behavior are more secular than others. Thus we are right back to the introductory part of the paper. The problem still remains: Is the Mennonite Church more secular, having accepted most of the American cultural systems and their basic underlying value beliefs? This is a far-reaching and difficult question. This is tantamount to asking: If assimilation is acceptance of value systems, is any group or sect ever free from being deeply implicated in a particular value orientation? Is the Amish position then not simply a frozen value system imported from Switzerland and Germany?

Secularization is not related to acculturation. Wearing "leder hosen" does not necessarily qualify a man's Christianity. Assimilation however is related to secularization if the non-Christian value system underlying a culture is accepted by the Christian. Since there is no culture which is entirely Christian, no Christian is ever justified in accepting a value system that exists in any nation, either in toto or in part. The question which has troubled many sincere defenders of the Anabaptist interpretation of Christianity is thus only intensified if the concepts presented in this paper are correct. Is secularization inevitable? Is the sect-church-denomination cycle a foregone conclusion?

It is my tentative judgment that assimilation and secularization are not inevitable. As has been suggested however, the battle must be fought on many levels. The battle does not concern itself only with physical separation or avoidance, or with other observable traits as much as with the struggle for true knowledge and understanding. It seems quite evident that the early Anabaptists had a more practical theory of knowledge than we have today. Today we do not know why we believe as we do and why we take certain positions. If the Anabaptist fellowship is not to take the secularization route it must remain clear how it constructs its belief and value system.

If we know at least in part what assimilation and secularization is, we will know what is required to avoid it. Though this paper is not to deal with planning, an example will be given which proves the Anabaptist vision need not decline. The Voluntary Service movement is something of a breakthrough, for it involves a dynamic, positive understanding of Christianity. The Voluntary Service movement in one branch of the Mennonite church alone has established more than five young fellowships in the last five years.

It can be observed that the Voluntary Service movement has converted the prerequisites of assimilation to the church's advantage. They are: 1) contact with the out-group. Voluntary Service relates in large part to the out-group. This contact is not detrimental but rather necessary; 2) universality and legitimation. Instead of accepting values held by larger society, Voluntary Service believes that the principles it holds obtain to the whole world. All men everywhere **should** share in the love and fellowship available in Christian fellowship; 3) rewarding and useful value system. The Voluntary Service movement believes that love, service and sharing is more gratifying than any other type of activity; 4) the reference group is the Christian fellowship, which enables the most wavering to resist making a non-Christian group his spiritual base.

Voluntary Service has been used as an example of the positive

aspects of assimilation because I suspect that those Mennonite people who have been connected with it in one way or another have not assimilated nearly as much as those who have not served in Voluntary Service. A study of the relative commitment of those who have been in Voluntary Service with those who have not needs to be made for it may offer valuable clues as to what needs to be done to revitalize our vision.

It should be clear that the Christian fellowship needs always to have a clear cosmology. The hitch in Anabaptist tradition has been the failure to understand that assimilation and securalization can occur before acculturation takes place. It has failed to realize it is of paramount importance that people know how they think. Any plan of action based on premises with even a tinge of non-Christian value systems is doomed.

If we agree that American values are in no sense Christian, and if we agree that American Mennonites have adopted many American values, then we must concede, at least logically, the conclusion that secularization has made great inroads among the Mennonites. The solution for Mennonites, as it is for any group, is to hear Christ speak, not as He is interpreted by cultural thought patterns, but as interpreted through the fellowship of believers by the Holy Spirit.

> Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say to you, if two of you agree on earth about anything they ask, it will be done for them by my Father in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them.—Matt. 18:19 (RSV)

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[1]Covenant Community is a term which means a group of believers who accept fully God's offered covenant of salvation and reconciliation between men.
[2]H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture,* New York, Harper, 1951, p. 2.
[3]A. I. Hallowell, "Cultural Factors in the Structuralization of Perception," in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads,* New York, Harper, 1951, 1. 164ff.
[4]Benjamin Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality,* New York, Wiley, 1956.
[5]This perspective can be achieved only relatively. The best way obviously is to live in other cultures so a comparative position can be taken. This has some dangerous drawbacks among which relativity of faith is the greatest. The most workable procedure seems to be the "Existential Community" where intense and uncontaminated interaction tends to create true perspectives of reality. Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture, op. cit.,* p. 241ff.
[6]Nonconformity, separation from the world, "worldliness" and many other terms have evolved around this problem. In fact, it is suggested by some that the sectarian movement is an endeavor to define more devisively what is "sacred" and what is "profane." Cf. for example Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* London, Allen and Unwin, p. 47 passim. Cf. also Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches,* Glencoe, Free Press, 1949, who has given this concept classic definition.

[7]George Murdock, "The Cross-Cultural Survey," in Wilson and Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1949.

[8]Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology Today*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 621 ff.

[9]*Ibid*, p. 630 passim.

[10]Cf. E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1955, also E. C. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1952.

[11]Since most literature deals with one time period, the problem of combining varied viewpoints and presentations into a usable system still remains even for valid scientific data.

[12]As late as 1948 one conference said, "We believe that the radio is largely dominated by the spirit of the world, and that it may exert damaging influence upon the spiritual life of the home, especially the children. We commend and encourage those who abstain from its use for conscience sake." Cf. John A. Hostetler, *The Sociology of Mennonite Evangelism*, Scottdale, Herald Press, 1954.

[13]In the Mennonite churches represented in one community, each conference had made pronouncements concerning radio, but none had made any references to television, up to the time that the study was made. Calvin Redekop, *Assimilation of the Mennonites at Mountain Lake, Minnesota*, MA thesis, University of Minnesota, 1955, p. 105ff.

[14]Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[15]Redekop, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[16]Redekop, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 121ff.

[18]Hostetler, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[19]Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1939, p. 166.

[20]Justus Holsinger, *Faculty Study Project of the Hesston College and Bible School Curriculum*, 1956, p. 8. Cf. also E. K. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 191ff.

[21]*Ibid*, p. 24.

[22]Dawson, *Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*, Toronto, MacMilliam Co., 1936, p. 115ff.; Cf. also Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 153ff.

[23]Quoted in John A. Hostetler, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 29 passim. (Hostetler)

[25]Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Cf. also Dawson, p. 158 passim.

[26]Liston Pope, "Patterns of Denominational Development: Churches and Sects," in Wilson and Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1949, p. 658ff.

[27]Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 110 ff.

[28]A decisive index is the amount of mutual aid that is practiced in a community, of an un-institutionalized variety. Cf. Francis, *op cit.*, p. 266; Cf. also J. Winfield Fretz, "Christian Community Building," *Christian Living*, Scottdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, Dec. 1955, p. 28ff.

[29]Robert Park, *Race and Culture*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1950, p. 44 passim.

[30]Cf. Eaton and Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorder*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1955, p. 190ff. Cf. also David Aberle, "Shared Values in Complex Societies," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15.

[31]As an example of this, the Mennonite parents in Mountain Lake, favored Mennonite education if it was fundamental and evangelical. This indicates a trend toward universal legitimation. Redekop, *op. cit.*

[32]There is a growing literature on this concept. Originally introduced in Sumner, *Folkways*, it found expression in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, and now finds great emphasis in a school headed by Talcott Parsons (*The Social Systems*) and includes such men as David Aberle, et. al.

[33]Redekop, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[34]Reference group theory is most completely set forth in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* "Continuities in the Theory of Reference Groups and Social Structure," Glencoe, Free Press, 1957, p. 281. ff. Cf. also Tomatsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 60.

[35]The bibliography and rationale for this concept is taken from a paper written for a seminar in the University of Chicago, entitled "Assimilation and the Change of Identity," Fall, 1956.

[36]Redekop, "Assimilation and the Change of Identity," 1957, p. 13.

[37]In actual practice this might have far-reaching consequences. Thus degree granting colleges and seminaries might not fit the Anabaptist position.

[38]This was one of the conclusions the writer reached in his study of the Mountain Lake community. Cf. Chapter 6, MA thesis, *op. cit.*

[39]Lindesmith and Strauss, *Social Psychology,* New York, Dryden Press, 1956, p. 50.

[40]Benjamin Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality,* New York, Wiley, 1956, 1. vi.

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN MENNONITE FAMILY LIFE

*By Howard Kauffman**

I. A Statement of the Research Problem

As a social institution, the family in Western culture has undergone fundamental changes in recent generations. A great volume of both scholarly and popular literature has been produced in an attempt to assess the character and extent of these changes. Many scholars have devoted years of research to the study of American family life. For the most part, these scholars agree on the particular changes that have occurred. When it comes to evaluating these changes, however, there exists wide divergence of opinion.

Sociologists such as Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Schmiedeler[1] hold that the modern family is in the process of disintegration. It is only a matter of time until the family, in urban life at least, will have ceased to perform most of its traditional and necessary functions. On the other hand, scholars like E. W. Burgess, Harvey Locke, and J. K. Folsom[2] do not reflect this pessimism. They point to certain characteristics of modern family life that are more beneficial than their traditional counterparts. Among these beneficial developments are more demonstration of affection, more companionship between spouses, and more democracy in family interaction.

Among the more significant changes that have occurred, the following are generally regarded as detrimental to family life: (1) increased rates of marital breakup, (2) increased family mobility, (3) increased population density and crowded housing, particularly in the larger cities, (4) increasing problems in the care of the aged, (5) the tendency for family members to find most of their leisure time pursuits outside the home and family, (6) specialization in occupations, making it less possible for the family members to share in the work of the husband and father, (7) a decrease in the opportunity for children to experience a work apprenticeship in the home, and (8) an increased tendency for mothers of young children to work outside the home.

Among the changes that are regarded by most writers as beneficial to family life are the following: (1) increased material resources and level of living, (2) an increase in the amount of

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leisure time available to the family, (3) more opportunity for wives and children to share in the family decision-making process, (4) more economic security for dependent children and aged persons, (5) a more equalitarian status for women, and (6) more overt demonstration of affection between family members.

Finally, there are certain changes concerning which scholars are not agreed as to whether they are detrimental or beneficial. These include: (1) a decrease in the size of the average family, (2) increased communication with the outside world via radio, television, and other mass media, (3) a recent trend to more permissive child-rearing practices, and increased freedom of youth in the area of courtship and mate selection.

Many of these changes are closely associated with the advance of industrialization and urbanization. Technological inventions, such as the automobile, have had far-reaching effects on family life. Secularization is believed to have had important effects, although the presence and nature of secularization are difficult to assess. What is the net effect of all the above divergent forces of change which sweep the family along in ever increasing tempo?

Family life among American Mennonites has been undergoing changes apparently quite similar in many ways to the changes in the larger society. Certain traditional forms have given way to newer, emerging patterns of family behavior. Does this mean that modern-day Mennonite families are weaker on the average than families a couple generations ago, or not? What is the **net** effect of these changes on Mennonite family life?

Such a question cannot be answered without recourse to some valid and acceptable criterion, or criteria, of family success. Upon what bases shall we judge whether or not our grandparents were more successful in family life than we are today? There are, of course, certain outcomes or "products" of family life which most people desire to see; for example, well-adjusted children. The success of family life may thus be measured in terms of the degree to which these desired outcomes of family life have been realized. To be sure, there is not a universal agreement on what are the desired outcomes or "products" of family life. This is not a matter of scientific fact, but rather is a matter of value judgment and consensus of opinion, and we can only make the necessary assumptions on the basis of the best evidence or logic. Once having made certain assumptions concerning the desired product of family life, the research problem becomes twofold: (1) To make some measurement of the product of a family or group of families, and (2) to compare the products of two or more groups of families.

The specific problem to which this study is addressed may now

be stated. The problem is to determine whether, among Mennonites, the processes of family life appear to be more successful in families which evidence primarily the "traditional" patterns of life, or in families which evidence primarily the more modern, "emergent" patterns. It is the purpose of this study to present empirical data which bear on the question.

For purposes of this study, the following products of family life shall be assumed as criteria of family success:

(1) **The quality of the husband-wife relationship.** The relationship will be regarded as successful if the spouses are well adjusted to each other and are happy and satisfied with their marriage.

(2) **The quality of the child-parent emotional relationship.** The relationship will be regarded as good if the child expresses a feeling that he is wanted, loved, and accepted by his parents. The desired relationship is one of mutual understanding and warmth, rather than characterized by tension, distrust, and antagonism.

(3) **The parent-child social relationship.** The relationship is assumed to be better the more the parents share with the child in work and play experiences, and the more the child is allowed to participate in the decision-making process.

(4) **The personality traits of the child.** A desirable product is manifest in the child who is happy, cooperative, free of neurotic symptoms and withdrawing tendencies.

(5) **The child's ability to relate to his peers.** Success is evident if the child is liked by his age-mates, if he can make friends easily, and if he exhibits ability to lead others.

(6) **The degree of the child's acceptance of Mennonite values.** It is assumed that child-rearing practices have been successful if the child comes to accept the Christian faith and the basic moral teachings and religious practices of his parents and the Mennonite church.

Obviously the above six items do not include all the factors that might be listed as criteria of family success. A selection of measurable criteria had to be made. The primary focus is upon interpersonal relations in the family, on the assumption that what happens in the interpersonal relationship is more important than whether the family is large or small, whether the family income is high or low, whether the family lives on a farm or in the city, or whether or not the parents are leaders in their church or community. Recent emphases in human development and social psychiatry seem to support this assumption.[3]

II. The Source of Data

Empirical data for the study were obtained in the summer of 1956 from a sample of Mennonite families living in three states:

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. All families were members of the Mennonite Church, the group sometimes referred to as "Old" Mennonites.[4] A random selection of sixteen congregations was made from a total of 82 independently organized congregations in these states. The 37 mission congregations and outposts, which accounted for 7.3% of the total church membership in these states, were not included in the selection of the sample. The primary reason for this was to avoid, as far as possible, ethnic variations within the sample arising from the inclusion of families from non-Mennonite background. The mission outposts naturally include larger proportions of these families.

Within each of the sixteen congregations selected, all families were included who met the following qualifications:

(1) Both spouses were living.

(2) Both spouses had been married only once.

(3) There was at least one child in the family.

(4) The oldest living child was at least 13 years of age but under 19 years.

(5) The oldest child was living at home with his parents.

It should be noted that the sample is not entirely representative of all Mennonite families since a small proportion were excluded as not meeting the above specifications.

The selection process resulted in the inclusion of 159 families in the sample. Of these, a total of 149, or 93% cooperated fully in the study.[5] Thus the findings can be generalized for Mennonites in the three states included, and perhaps also for Mennonites in other states where family cultural traits are quite similar to those in the states included in the study.

The data were collected by the questionnaire-survey method. In each family the husband, wife, and oldest child each completed separate and different questionnaires. Only the oldest child was included in the study in order that the data from each family would be based on the same number of persons (parents and one child) and so that the ordinal position of the child would be the same for all families. It is hypothesized that the family attitudes and behavior which the spouses bring to the marriage will be most pronounced in the rearing of the oldest child, before later modifications occur.

Almost all the questionnaires were completed in the presence of the investigator. A few were completed in his absence and returned by mail. Each respondent worked separately, not being permitted to discuss any item with another person before the questionnaire was completed.

III. The Sample Families

As was indicated above, completed questionnaires were obtained from 149 families. Hereafter, these 149 families will be referred to as the sample families. Husbands in the sample families ranged in age from 33 to 64, with a median age of 42.7 years. Wives ranged in age from 31 to 52, with a median of 39.8 years. The educational levels of the sample spouses compares very closely to similar age, race, and residence groups for the entire population of the United States. Ten per cent of the husbands and 12 per cent of the wives had attended college for one or more years.

Net taxable family incomes (1955) ranged from $1,800 to $35,000, with a median of $4,540. This is above the median for all United States heads of families for the age category 35 to 44, which was $3,202 in 1949.[6]

Farming was the principal occupation of 51.7 per cent of the husbands. However, 67.8 per cent of the families lived on farms of three acres or more. The distribution of occupations is given in Table 1. A comparison with heads of all families in the United States in 1950 is given. It should be noted that the Mennonite sample is largely a middle-aged group, whereas the United States families include heads of all ages. The comparison indicates that much greater proportions of Mennonites in these states are farmers, and much smaller proportions are salesmen and clerical workers, semiskilled, and unskilled workers.

The proportions of Mennonite sample-family heads in the business ownership and management class and in the skilled worker class is about the same as for all United States family heads. This indicates that the long-term trend away from farming as an occupation has been in the direction of the skilled trades, business ownership and management, and professional and other "white collar" occupational classes. Apparently only very small proportions are shifting into ordinary factory work. In view of the trend away from farming, it may be noted further that, whereas 67.8% of the sample families now live on farms, of three acres or more, 96.6% of the husbands and 92.6% of the wives spent most of their childhood and youth on a farm of three acres or more.

On the basis of present residence, the 149 sample families are distributed as follows: 101 families (68%) live on a farm of three acres or more; 12 families (8%) live in a village of less than 2,500 population; 21 families (14%) live on a plot of less than three acres outside village or city limits; eight families (5%) live in a city of 2,500 to 10,000 population; and seven families (4%) live in a city of over 10,000 population.

TABLE 1: Distribution of families by husband's occupational class, Mennonite sample, 1956, and heads of families, U.S., 1950.

Occupational Class	Menn. Sample No.	%	% of heads of families, U. S., 1950*
Farming	77	51.7	14.3
Professional	6	4.0	7.8
Proprietors, Managers, and officials	17	11.4	12.6
Salesmen and Clerical Workers	7	4.7	12.1
Skilled workers: craftsmen, foremen, etc.	29	19.5	20.7
Semiskilled workers: machine operators, truck drivers, etc.	10	6.7	19.8
Service workers, including private household	0	0.0	5.1
Unskilled workers	3	2.0	6.7
Occupation not reported	0	0.0	.8
	149	100.0	99.9

*Source: Paul C. Glick, "American Families," New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957

Table 2 gives the sex and age distribution of the children. This is the total of children obtained by including the oldest child in each of the 149 families. The number of 18-year-olds is abnormally small due to the fact that, after about one-third of the field work had been completed, a decision was made to discontinue the inclusion of families in which the oldest child was 18.

TABLE 2: Sex and age distribution of sample children.

Age	Number of males	Number of females	Total Number	Per cent
13	21	17	38	25.5
14	10	16	26	17.4
15	14	13	27	18.1
16	8	12	20	13.4
17	9	17	26	17.5
18	8	4	12	8.1
TOTAL	70	79	149	100.0

IV. Farm Versus Nonfarm Families

It will be recalled that the research problem focuses on the question of whether or not the trends or changes in Mennonite family life have resulted in a weakening of family life. The ideal research model would provide for a comparison between a sample of Mennonite families of some bygone day (say 50 years ago) with a sample today. This approach obviously cannot be used now, since no one made a study 50 years ago with which comparisons might be made. Some other basis of comparison must be used.

It is well known that several generations ago farming was the occupation of almost all Mennonite families. It is known also that today hardly more than half of the families have heads whose principal occupation is farming. Since the trend is away from the farm, one logical approach to studying trends in family life is to compare today's farm families with today's nonfarm families. This assumes that farm families are more traditional in form than are nonfarm families. It cannot be denied that rural family patterns have changed greatly along with nonfarm family patterns. Nevertheless it is logical to assume that modern rural patterns are less radically different from farm patterns of 50 years ago than are modern **urban** family patterns. Moreover, scholars are agreed that rural patterns are shifting in the direction of urban patterns. Therefore the first part of the analysis will be based on a division of the sample families into two groups: (1) the 77 families in which the husband's principal occupation is farming, and (2) the 72 families in which the principal occupation is something other than farming. A comparison of these two groups will provide some indication of trends in Mennonite family life.

(1) Size of family. An examination of the data reveals no significant difference[7] between farm and nonfarm families with respect to family size. An average of 3.8 children were found in the farm families. The nonfarm families averaged 3.6 children. The number of children in both farm and nonfarm families ranged upward to a maximum of nine. It is probable that more children will be born into some of the families.

(2) Husband-Wife Marital Success. Each husband and wife responded to 28 questionnaire items taken from the Burgess-Wallin Marriage Success Schedule.[8] The responses on these items provide a scale score for each husband and wife. A high score indicates a marriage in which the spouses report that they are very happy and satisfied in the marriage and that they have few disagreements. A low score indicates the presence of a number of disagreements and a generally lower happiness and satisfaction rating. Table 3 gives the percentage distribution of scores on the marital success test, for farm and nonfarm spouses.

TABLE 3: Percentage distribution of spouses by Marital Success scores, for farm and nonfarm families.

| Marital Success Scores | Husbands | | Wives | |
	Farm N-77	Nonfarm N-72	Farm N-77	Nonfarm N-72
120 - 139	31.2	38.9	40.3	27.7
100 - 119	55.8	43.1	46.7	55.6
80 - 99	11.7	11.1	11.7	13.9
60 - 79	1.3	6.9	1.3	2.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Husband scores on the test ranged from a low of 69 to a high a 136. Wife scores ranged from 67 to 138. Farm husbands had a median score of 115 compared to 116 for nonfarm husbands. The median scores for wives were 117 for farm families and 114 for nonfarm families. It must be concluded that there is no significant difference between farm and nonfarm husbands with regard to their marital success scores. Among the wives, however, farm families appear to be somewhat favored.

(3) **Child-Parent Relations.** Each child responded to a 36-item test indicating how he felt toward his parents. A scale score was obtained for each child. These scores ranged from a low of 50 to a high of 144. A high score indicates that the child feels his parents treat him fairly, understand him, love him, show interest in the things he does, and accept him as he is. A low score indicates that the child feels his parents are often unfair, that they are irritable, critical, and hard to please, and that there is a felt lack of love and affection.

Table 4 gives the percentage distribution of scores on the test for children in farm and nonfarm homes. It will be noted that the distributions are very similar and it must be concluded that, as measured by this test, there is no significant difference in child-parent relationships between farm and nonfarm families. The median score for farm families was 107 and for nonfarm families 106.

TABLE 4:   **Percentage distribution of children by Child-Parent Relations score, for farm and nonfarm families.**

Child-Parent Relations Score	Farm families N-76	Nonfarm families N-72
130 - 144	5.3	4.2
110 - 129	36.8	33.3
90 - 109	43.4	48.6
70 - 89	11.9	11.1
50 - 69	2.6	2.8
TOTAL	100.00	100.0

(4) **Child-Peer Relations.** Each child responded to seventeen questionnaire items which were designated to measure his success in relating to friends of his own age. These items were also scaled and the resulting age-adjusted scores ranged from a low-relationship score of 29 to a high-relationship score of 77. Table 5 gives the distribution of scores. Although the distributions for farm and nonfarm families are not greatly different, the data indicate that the child of the nonfarm family feels, on the average, somewhat more successful and secure in his relations to his friends. The difference is almost great enough to be statistically significant. This finding is in line with the findings of Nye, who

TABLE 5: Percentage distribution of sample children by Child-Peer Relations scores, for farm and nonfarm families.

Age-Adjusted Child-Peer Relations scores	Farm families N-77	Nonfarm families N-72
50 and above	23.4	36.1
40 - 49	58.4	43.1
Below 40	18.2	20.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

studied adolescent-parent adjustment among 1,472 Michigan adolescents, concluding that, with increasing rurality, adolescent adjustment to groups outside the family declined.[9]

(5) **Child's Personality Traits.** Two sections of the California Test of Personality, Secondary Edition,[10] were included in the child's questionnaire. These sections are designated to measure "withdrawing tendencies" and "neurotic symptoms." The data revealed that children of farm and nonfarm families do not differ significantly with regard to the presence or absence of "withdrawing tendencies."

With regard to "neurotic symptoms," a significant difference between the distributions of scores for farm and nonfarm groups was found. Children of farm families had, on the average, fewer neurotic symptoms than children of nonfarm families. This is in line with the findings of Mangus of Ohio State University in his study of school children in Western Ohio.[11]

(6) **Parent-Child Common Activities.** Data were obtained revealing the extent to which the parents engage in work and play activities with their children. The findings indicate clearly that children in farm families have significantly greater frequency of sharing with their parents in work activities, particularly in regard to the father, than is true for nonfarm families. With regard to play activities, however, nonfarm parents apparently share in common activities with their children to a greater extent than do farm parents.

(7) **Acceptance of Mennonite Values.** A set of 20 items was used in an attempt to measure the degree of acceptance by each respondent of the ethical teachings and practices of the Mennonite church. Each husband, wife, and child was asked to express his agreement or disagreement with the traditional church position on such items as joining the armed services, the use of tobacco and liquor, the wearing of jewelry, the wearing of the prayer veiling by women, the joining of labor unions and businessmen's clubs, etc. Scale scores were computed for each respondent, and the score for each respondent is referred to as his Mennonite Value-Acceptance score.

Table 6 gives the percentage distribution of scores for the

husbands, wives, and children for farm and nonfarm families. Individual scores on the test ranged from 13 to 77, with a high score indicating strong agreement with the traditional Mennonite position. The husband and wife columns in the table reveal no significant differences between farm and nonfarm categories. Among the children, however, the nonfarm scores average lower than the farm scores. The median score for nonfarm children

TABLE 6: **Percentage distribution of respondents by scores on the Menn. Value-Acceptance test, for farm and nonfarm families.**

Mennonite Value-Acceptance scores	Husbands		Wives		Children	
	Farm N-77	Nonfarm N-72	Farm N-77	Nonfarm N-72	Farm N-77	Nonfarm N-72
60 - 79	18.2	20.8	22.1	25.0	3.9	8.3
50 - 59	27.3	25.0	33.7	23.5	15.6	12.5
40 - 49	33.7	37.5	29.9	29.2	48.0	30.6
30 - 39	14.3	11.1	11.7	16.7	18.2	37.5
10 - 29	6.5	5.6	2.6	5.6	14.3	11.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

was 40.7; for farm children the median was 43.8. Although the relationship between the farm-nonfarm and Value-Acceptance variables is not consistent at all levels, the evidence suggests that support of Mennonite teachings is slightly greater among farm than among nonfarm children. Is this because of factors within the home or because of factors outside the home?

What conclusions can be drawn from the above findings? To summarize, no significant differences were found between farm and nonfarm families on matters of size of family, marital success of spouses, child-parent relations, withdrawing tendencies among children, and acceptance of Mennonite values by husbands and wives. Farm families seem to be favored in matters of parent-child common experience in work activities, the absence of neurotic symptoms among children, and the child's acceptance of Mennonite values. Nonfarm families are favored in matters of child-peer relations, and in the degree to which parents share in play activities with their children.

We conclude that the trend from farm to nonfarm occupations has had little, if any effect on Mennonite family life. The evidence gained from this study gives no indication that Mennonite family life has been weakened, or has become less successful, as a result of the move away from the farms.

A word of caution is in order, however. Only 15 families included in the sample live in urban places, that is, cities of more than 2,500 population. This is too small a number upon which to make valid generalizations about the quality of Mennonite family life in cities. The research program needs to be expanded to include a larger sample of urban families before conclusions can be reached on differences between rural and city families.

All that can be claimed from this study is that as long as non-farm Mennonite families choose to live in rural areas and small towns under 2,500 population, no detrimental effects on family life are to be expected.

V. Traditional Versus Emergent Families

The last part of this analysis deals with another approach to the study of trends and changes in family life. Students of the American family point to certain evident changes in important traits of family interaction. Among these are a decline of patriarchal authority and a corresponding increase in the participation of the wife and children in the family decision-making process. Take family finances, for example. The trend is toward a more equal sharing between husband and wife in decisions regarding the family purse. The wife may be given a part of the husband's income as an allowance for household and personal expenses which she manages. This replaces the "dole" system, under which, when the wife needs to go shopping, she must ask her husband for money, which he then doles out to her. Moreover, the trend is in the direction of giving to children allowances which they may manage as they wish. Also older children are more likely to be permitted to keep their earnings from work outside the home, rather than having to turn the earnings over to the parents for the support of the entire family.

Under the patriarchal system, the father is dominant in the family. He takes the initiative in matters of importance. He is likely to be more strict in the discipline of children. In matters of disagreement among members of the family, his word is law. Moreover, there is likely to be a clear distinction between "man's work" and "woman's work." The husband is less likely to help his wife with the housework. It is in the modern "emergent" family where the husband frequently helps with such household tasks as dishwashing, sweeping, laundry work, cooking a meal, or changing the baby's diaper. If the family goes for a drive in the car, and the wife is seen driving instead of her husband, it is most probable that it is not a traditional, patriarchal family.

In matters of demonstration of affection, there are obvious trends. Compared to 50 years ago, there is much more open demonstration of affection, in the forms of embracing, holding hands, kissing, speaking words of endearment, etc. The young "modern" husband may be seen kissing his wife and children goodbye each morning when he goes to work, whereas his grandfather may not have been able to muster the courage to do the same even when he was departing on an extended trip! Nor perhaps did his wife expect it.

The foregoing will suffice to suggest the possibility of typing families according to such traits of family interaction. Families

today differ greatly in the extent to which they evidence the newer forms of interaction. The evidence from Mennonite families reveals wide variations in these forms of interaction. Has the trend away from the traditional, patriarchal family patterns resulted in a weakening of family life among Mennonites? Are the newer, "emergent" forms of family life, more, or less, successful than the traditional pattern?

Included in the questionnaires were 30 items designed to reveal the extent to which the families evidenced the older, traditional forms of family life. On the basis of husband, wife, and child responses to 22 of these items, a scale score was computed for each family. These scores ranged along a continuum from 27 to 80. High scores indicate families which evidence primarily traditional traits. Low scores indicate families which evidence primarily what we have called "emergent" traits.

Perhaps two cases will serve to illustrate the difference. Family No. 133 is very traditional in its traits. The wife indicates that the husband is **definitely** dominant in the marriage relationship. The husband says he is **slightly** dominant. In answer to the question, "How often has your father bossed your mother?" the child reports "often." The husband seldom helps with household tasks. The wife does not receive a money allowance, and neither do the children. The wife has never worked outside the home since the first child was born. The parents both report that they have been somewhat strict in their discipline of the children. Husband, wife, and child all report that affection is seldom openly demonstrated between husband and wife and between parents and children.

Family No. 25 contrasts strikingly with the above family. Both husband and wife report that they share authority equally. The child indicates that the father seldom bosses the mother. The husband often helps with household tasks. The wife gets a regular allowance, and so do the children. The wife has occasionally worked outside the home since her first child was born. Both husband and wife report that they have been somewhat lenient in the way they discipline their children. Husband and wife often openly demonstrate affection to each other and to the children.

For purposes of analysis, the 149 sample families were divided at the median, 75 families being arbitrarily designated as **traditional** and 74 as **emergent.** The statistical analysis, therefore, involves a comparison of the two groups on the "family success" variables used in the farm-nonfarm analysis.

The findings indicate that farm families are more traditional and nonfarm families are more emergent. Sixty-one per cent of the farm families are in the traditional group and 39 per cent are in the emergent group. The percentages are exactly reversed within the nonfarm group. Although this relationship was ex-

pected, it should be noted that many families do not evidence the majority pattern. Many farm families are emergent in traits, and many nonfarm families have apparently retained the traditional traits. Among the 15 urban families in the sample, 73% are in the emergent category, with only 27% in the traditional category.

(1) **Husband-wife marital success.** Table 7 indicates the distribution of marital success scores for husbands and wives. A comparison of the traditional and emergent categories reveals that significantly larger proportions of both husbands and wives in the emergent family category are found in the higher marital success category. This should not becloud the fact that many husbands and wives in traditional families have high marital success ratings. Nevertheless, "other things being equal," the emergent family type seems to be favored with respect to husband-wife relations.

TABLE 7:   Percentage distribution of spouses by Marital Success scores, for traditional and emergent families.

Marital Success scores	Husbands		Wives	
	Trad. N-75	Emerg. N-74	Trad. N-75	Emerg. N-74
120 - 139	25.3	44.6	28.0	40.5
100 - 119	54.7	44.6	49.3	52.7
80 - 99	16.0	6.8	18.7	6.8
60 - 79	4.0	4.0	4.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A further analysis was made by relating marital success to spouse dominance. In 54 families responses of both husband and wife indicated that the husband was definitely dominant. In 86 families the response indicated that authority was either shared equally or the husband was slightly dominant. In nine families ·one of the spouses (in four cases, the husband) admitted that the wife was dominant. The data indicated that the proportion of spouses in the highest marital success category was about seven per cent greater in the husband-not-definitely-dominant families as compared with the husband-definitely-dominant families. In other words, marital success scores averaged slightly lower in those families where the husband is definitely dominant.

(2) **Child-Parent Relations.** Table 8 indicates the distribution of families by Child-Parent Relations scores. The data indicate that scores range somewhat higher in the emergent families. Furthermore, the cross-tabulation of Child-Parent scores with spouse-dominance categories indicates a somewhat poorer child-parent relationship in families where the husband is definitely dominant. The four families with lowest child-parent relations scores are in the husband-definitely-dominant category. These

findings suggest that there is reason for seriously questioning the assumption that the "good old days" when "papa was all" were **really** good old days from the standpoint of interpersonal relations in the family.

TABLE 8: Percentage distribution of families by Child-Parent Relations scores, for traditional and emergent families.

Child-Parent Relations scores	Traditional N-74	Emergent N-74
130 - 144	2.7	6.8
110 - 129	29.7	40.5
90 - 109	50.0	41.9
70 - 89	12.2	10.8
50 - 69	5.4	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Nevertheless, we must again not overlook the fact that many families with dominant husbands and fathers do evidence good interpersonal relations. This suggests that dominance may vary greatly in quality and in net effects upon individuals in the family. Fathers, like kings, may vary from benevolent rulers on the one hand to autocratic tyrants on the other hand. More detailed analysis of the data may provide further insights into what combination of factors seems to make up the best family interpersonal pattern.

TABLE 9: Percentage distribution of children by Child-Peer Relations scores, for traditional and emergent families.

Child-Peer Relations scores	Traditional N-75	Emergent N-74
50 and above	26.7	36.5
40 - 49	53.3	44.6
Below 40	20.0	18.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

(3) **Child-Peer Relations.** Table 9 provides a distribution of Child-Peer Relations scores. Once again the emergent families are favored. However, the differences are not great enough to be statistically significant. Our hypothesis is that the child's ability to relate to his peers is a function of the quality of the interpersonal relations which he experiences within the family. The data support this hypothesis.

(4) **Child's Personality Traits.** Scores on the two sections of the California Test of Personality reveal no differences between children of traditional and emergent families. For both "withdrawing tendencies" and "neurotic symptoms," the distribution of scores was almost identical for the two family types. When cross-tabulated with spouse-dominance categories, neurotic symptoms averaged slightly, but not significantly, more frequent in families where the father is definitely dominant.

(5) **Parent-Child Common Activities.** The data reveal a tendency for parents in emergent families to have somewhat greater frequency of interaction with their children in play and recreational activities. Parent-Child Common Activities scores average somewhat lower in the traditional families. An additional point of interest is the positive relationship between the Parent-Child Common Activities variable and the Child-Parent Relations variable. That is, on the average, the more the shared activity between parents and children, the higher the Child-Parent Relations score.

(6) **Acceptance of Mennonite Values.** Table 10 gives the distribution of husband, wife, and child scores on the Mennonite Value-Acceptance test, comparing traditional and emergent families.

TABLE 10: Percentage distribution of respondents by scores on the Mennonite Value-Acceptance test, for traditional and emergent families.

Mennonite Value Acceptance Score	Husbands		Wives		Children	
	Trad. N-75	Emerg. N-74	Trad. N-75	Emerg. N-74	Trad. N-75	Emerg. N-74
60 - 79	21.3	17.6	26.7	20.3	9.3	2.7
50 - 59	30.7	21.6	30.7	27.0	13.3	14.9
40 - 49	29.3	41.9	25.3	33.9	37.3	41.9
30 - 39	8.0	17.6	13.3	14.7	22.8	32.4
10 - 29	19.7	1.4	4.0	4.1	17.3	8.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The evidence from this table is not conclusive. Larger proportions of the traditional family member scores are found in the high Value-Acceptance categories, as compared to emergent families. However, the lowest Value-Acceptance score category indicates an inverse relationship. Among the children, 17.3 per cent of the traditional families are in the lowest Value-Acceptance category, compared to only 8.1 per cent for emergent families. What is the reason for this inverse relationship?

A hypothesis that we shall now entertain is that the child's acceptance of Mennonite values is a function of two main factors: (1) the degree to which the parents themselves accept the values, and (2) the quality of the child-parent relationship. We should expect that if the parents evidence a high value acceptance, other things being equal, the child will evidence high value acceptance. But other things are not equal—notably the child-parent relationship. It the child-parent relationship is good, we shall expect the child to readily identify with the parent and therefore with the parent's values. But if the child-parent relationship is poor we shall expect the child to not indentify with the parent, but rather against him. In unconsciously rejecting his parent, the child also unknowingly rejects the value system which his parents represent.

Table 11 presents data which support the hypothesis. It will be noted that the average level of the child's value-acceptance goes down as one moves across the columns from the high parent value-acceptance and high child-parent relations category to the low parent value-acceptance and low child-parent relations category in the right hand column. It is concluded that the quality of the child-parent relationship is a significant element in the transmission of cultural values from one generation to the next. It is concluded also that the poor showing of the children in some traditional families on the value-acceptance test is, in part at least, a reflection of poor child-parent relations in these families. Examples of the compulsive rejection of Mennonite values by the children of some authoritarian patriarchal fathers are perhaps known to all students of this problem. The data above, and other data not included in this paper because of lack of space, bear rather clear testimony to this problem.

TABLE 11: Distribution of children by scores on the Mennonite Value-Acceptance test, by parents' scores on the Value-Acceptance test, and by Child-Parent Relations scores.

Child's Value-Acceptance Scores	Parents' Value-Acceptance Scores			
	High Scores		Low Scores	
	Child-Parent Scores		Child-Parent Scores	
	High	Low	High	Low
70 - 79	1	0	0	0
60 - 69	3	5	0	0
50 - 59	4	12	3	2
40 - 49	12	21	14	11
30 - 39	5	9	11	16
20 - 29	0	4	4	6
10 - 19	0	2	2	1
TOTAL CHILDREN	25	53	34	36

What are the conclusions from this analysis? On the basis of nearly every family-success variable brought into the analysis, the emergent type family appears to be favored. On none of the variables was there a clear-cut correlation favoring the traditional type.

Nevertheless, one must be very cautious in drawing conclusions. There are many exceptions, or "negative" cases, which must be accounted for. Why did so many families not fall in line with the findings relative to the majority of the cases? There are several reasons:

(1) The instruments used in the study are not perfect tools for the measurement of such complex variables as we have endeavored to examine. Although the questionnaire method has many advantages to commend it, no one can claim one hundred per cent validity or reliability from such instruments.

(2) The behavior which is studied is very complex. Any par-

ticular family success variable under scrutiny is a composite resultant of many, sometimes contradictory, contributory variables. Although these many variables are in part controlled because of the randomness of their effects, a complete control of the independent variables is not possible. A larger sample would be necessary to increase the control of these other independent variables.

A further study will be made of the negative cases in order to discover new insights and hypotheses which may emerge.

VI. Conclusions

The analysis presented in this paper suggests the following six conclusions:

(1) Evidence from this study suggests that we need not fear the effects on family life resulting from the trend from farm to rural nonfarm occupational settings.

(2) Any possible difference in family success between urban and rural families is not determined from the data of this study. A larger sampling of urban Mennonite families needs to be studied to determine whether urban nonfarm families exhibit any significant difference in family success from that of the rural nonfarm families included in the study.

(3) The trend from traditional to emergent family traits, as defined in this study, does not appear to be detrimental to the achievement of family success goals. On the contrary, there is evidence that the emergent traits are more conducive to the achievement of goals of good family interpersonal relations.

(4) The study suggests the importance of making empirical studies in order to test the theories and hypotheses related to family life in general, and Mennonite family life in particular, which, although unproven, are often accepted as fact.

(5) The need for a family life education program among Mennonites is suggested in order to counsel parents and others concerning the important family success goals and the factors that go into the achievement of these goals.

(6) The need for extending this research program is obvious. Will these findings hold for other Mennonite groups? Will they hold for Mennonites in other states? And moreover, if the emergent families seem to be favored today in the group studied, would they have been favored 50 years ago? Will they be favored a generation in the future?

FOOTNOTES

1. See P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics,* American Book Co., 1937; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Family and Civilization,* New York: Harper and Bros., 1947 and Edgar Schmiedeler, *Marriage and the Family,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

2. See Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family,* Second Edition, New York: American Book Co., 1953; and J. K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society,* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1943.

3. For this viewpoint see Nelson N. Foote and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Indentity and Interpersonal Competence,* University of Chicago Press, 1956.

4. Hereafter, whenever the term "Mennonite" is used, it will be understood that this particular group is being referred to.

5. A complete statement on the selection of sample congregations and families is given in J. Howard Kauffman, *Interpersonal Relations in Traditional and Emergent Family Types Among Midwest Mennonites,* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957.

6. Paul C. Glick, *American Families,* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957, p. 97.

7. An observed difference between sample proportions is considered significant at the five per cent level. This means that there are not more than five chances in 100 that the observed difference could have arisen from sampling error. Procedures for determining significance are indicated in the dissertation referred to in footnote 5.

8. An explanation of the Burgess-Wallin Marriage Success Schedule is given in Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage.* New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953, pp. 470-506.

9. Ivan Nye, "Adolescent-Parent Adjustment—Rurality as a Variable," *Rural Sociology,* 15:334-339, December, 1950.

10. Ernest W. Tiegs, Willis W. Clark, and Louis P. Thorpe, *California Test of Personality,* Secondary form AA, 1953 Revision, published by the California Test Bureau, 5916 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles 28, California. Permission to use sections of this test is gratefully acknowledged.

11. A. R. Mangus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," *American Sociological Review,* 13:566-575, October, 1948.

SOCIAL TRENDS AFFECTING THE MENNONITE FAMILY AT MID-CENTURY

*By J. Winfield Fretz**

If we are to think realistically about a philosophy of Christian family life today, we shall have to recognize the long time trends that sociologists agree are emerging and shaping our common life and institutions. The list might be long, but I shall enumerate and discuss briefly only the following seven.

1. *The family in the home is ceasing to be a production unit and is almost totally a consumption unit.* When compared with the colonial or frontier family which produced almost everything needed, today's family seems especially barren of productive activity. In my marriage and family classes at Tabor, Hesston, and Bethel colleges this spring, I asked approximately 100 students to list things still produced in their parental families. Limited gardening and baking were about the only productive arts still practiced in the majority of families. If one considers sewing, laundering, cleaning, and cooking as productive, the list is somewhat lengthened, but with the many pre-cooked, pre-seasoned, and ready-mixed canned and frozen foods, the automatic washer and drier, and the many other electrical devices now available to the homemaker, even the so-called domestic service skills have been greatly simplified, if not entirely eliminated.

In addition to these more obvious changes in family functions are the loss of family responsibility in the fields of recreation, education, religion, and care of the aged, the handicapped, the chronically ill, and the destitute. If modern parents stop to think carefully who educates their children, they will be forced to admit that they themselves are doing increasingly less. Since a girl no longer spends many whole days of her life working at a common task with her mother and a boy spends even fewer whole days working at important tasks with his father, this is easily understood. The loss of the productive functions in the home has deep and far-reaching social and spiritual consequences. This failure of family members to work seriously together at common labor results in family members not really knowing each other intimately. Thus, they cannot share each other's profoundest life aspirations or frustrations. This need for intimate sharing is then met by

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finding friends outside the family who serve as substitutes for intimate family relationships.

2. *A second long-time trend is that of increasing impermanence of location.* Persons and families move freely from community to community, from region to region, and even from country to country, generally in search of improving their economic conditions. Fewer and fewer people live out their lives in one community with the same circle of friends, neighbors, relatives, and working associates. This is not surprising when one reflects on the nature of modern occupations and the spirit of the times. The families of professional men like ministers, teachers, businessmen, doctors, and even laborers frequently move not only from country to city or from one local community to another, but jump clear across the country in response to what are generally called "opportunities for advancement."

The implications of such mobility for family life are numerous. First of all family members must re-establish social contacts, children find new peer groups, the whole family must seek to put down its roots in new soil. If such moves occur often, it is obvious that secondary rather than primary personal human relations trend to develop. When one adds to this category of impermanence those whose whole families are shattered by divorce, or who are constantly on the verge of being shattered, the long term trend becomes even more foreboding. Those children who have had three or more parents, and those husbands and wives who have had two or more spouses know the meaning of impermanence and their number is constantly increasing. Unfortunately, among this growing number are also some Mennonites.

3. *A third noticeable trend is the gradually decreasing family size.* In the century from 1850 to 1950 the birth rate declined thirty per cent. If one dare assume that the studies done by Good and Neufeld in 1947 on Mennonite families are representative of Mennonites throughout the United States, and I think one is justified in assuming that, then one sees that Mennonite families too have been steadily declining in size.[1] During the past school year I asked each of 100 Mennonite college students in three marriage and family classes what they considered the ideal family size in terms of the number of children. In Tabor and Bethel colleges the students said they expected to have between three and four children, while at Hesston the average number of children desired was between four and five. The median of all 100 students would have been four. This is considerably above the national average of the American families in 1940 of 1.75, but still below what seems like the average Mennonite family size of two and three generations ago.

Among the causes of this steady decline in family size is un-doubtedly the widespread acceptance of planned parenthood. This makes possible the determination of family size by choice rather than by chance. Smaller families are desired in order to better provide them with a maximum number of material things and be able to better educate the few children.

4. *A fourth long time time trend is that of a changing morality.* Morality has always been changing, but today it is more possible to measure some of the moral changes. Illustrations of what we mean are found in such practices as women smoking, drinking of light and heavy liquors, pre-marital unchastity, approval of birth control and divorce.

5. *A fifth trend is the decline of masculine dominance and the emergence of a democratic family.* Women are gaining in status on almost every front. Educationally women are as well or better trained today than men. Occupationally, while there is still notice-able discrimination, women have been gaining steadily. In some instances a wife's job has greater prestige and earning power than that of her husband. The United States Census Bureau reports that there is now no longer a single instance where at least one woman does not participate in all of its 446 separate occupational classifications. It is reported that there are today 30,000 women holding executive positions. Increasingly there is less differentia-tion in the jobs of men and women and in the recreational pur-suits of both sexes. Today's women go hunting and fishing; play golf and tennis, participate in organized ball teams and some few, even engage in the hitherto manly art of wrestling. Perhaps no-where is the note of equality among the sexes more clearly sym-bolized than in the area of dress. I cannot help feeling that women who operate machines, drive trucks, and taxis, hear the profane and vulgar conversations of those around them, will lose much of their refining influence and their Christian virtue and concern for virtues. When women leave their homes for work, they enter an environment which is wholly beyond their control. There are social and moral implications of such a bold intrusion on what has heretofore been exclusively the masculine domain.

6. *A sixth long term trend is closely related to the one just mentioned. It is the changing roles in modern marriage.* In the special holiday issue of *Life* magazine for December 1956, which was devoted to "The American Woman, Her Achievements and Her Troubles," there is a brilliant article by Robert Coughlan who discusses the views of six psychiatrists on troubled marriages. The thesis of this article is stated thus:

The psychiatrists fear that the general trend of American society is unhealthy. Spottily and sporadically, but increasing-

ly, the sexes of this country are losing their identities. The emerging American woman tends to be assertive and exploitive. The emerging American man tends to be passive and irresponsible. As a result neither sex can give to nor derive from marriage the satisfactions peculiarly necessary to each other. They are suffering from what the psychiatrists call sexual ambiguity.

This role confusion is explained in part by the basic changes that have taken place in our urbanized industrialized economic order. The rapid shift from a predominantly rural and agricultural society to a predominantly urban and industrial one has had an unsettling effect on the emotional lives of both men and women, but particularly women. The psychiatrists explain the impact on women by pointing out that the sudden change destroyed the traditional basis for woman's self-respect, her sense of her own value to society. Her husband was away from home all day doing things from which the wife felt detached. Children became a burden instead of an asset. The home itself, the center of her deepest emotional satisfactions, lost not only its economic value, but most of the educational and recreational ones she had supervised.

"Worst of all, the men with their new orientation 'toward money-making skills, began in effect to patronize women. Women were pets, housekeepers, sometimes companions, mistresses, biological mechanisms to produce a child or two. But except where the older patterns persisted, they were no longer important in their own right." The reaction of the women to all this was "feminism," a political movement which had as its goal "equality between the sexes." Women began to demand their "rights." And "rights" interestingly were defined as that which men had, legally, socially, and morally. Although the modern woman has steadily gained in her quest for equality with men, the closer she comes to achieving her goal, the more evidences there are of personal frustrations, marital tensions, and role confusion. All of this happens in the middle and upper economic family brackets as well as in the lower. In other words, adequate financial income is no guarantee against these frustrations, tensions, and confusions. Dr. John Cotton, a New York City psychiatrist cites the case of a typical middle income ($20,000) couple that came to him for advice.

The wife complains that her husband is drinking too much, does not take his full share of responsibility, is not aggressive sexually; they quarrel a good deal. She has lost respect for him, in short she wants someone who does the things a man is supposed to do— be a man. Enter now the husband. He agrees that he drinks more than is good for him; that their marriage is not in good shape, but complains that the trouble with his wife is that she runs everything. She is dependent and assertive in all their other relationships, and then suddenly she switches to the role of

yeilding seductress; he cannot make the transition. He admires her as a person but does not think she is much of a wife. She dislikes housework, she never learned how to cook, she turned children over to nurses as soon as she could. She gives them presents but doesn't give them much of herself and she never gives much of herself to *him*. He wishes she would do more of the things a woman is supposed to do. He wishes she were more of a *woman*. Here then we have an illustration of a long time trend that is being most conspicuous at present in the highly urbanized centers.

7. Another long time trend is *the gradual acquisition of new family functions*. Some of these functions are vastly more important than some of those given up. Whereas in the past the primary functions of the family were considered to be to "reproduce the species," protect the young and provide economically for the family, the newer family conceives as equally important the parental functions of cultivating human personality. The modern family at its best recognizes that it is the matrix of personality development and that its chief function is not merely reproduction, but the production of human beings with well-balanced personalities and purposeful character. From a Christian point of view it is taking seriously the fact that personality is sacred and that human beings are created in the image of God. In marriage and family classes this year at Tabor, Hesston, and Bethel colleges, 150 students concluded that the following characterized modern Mennonite families in contrast to those of former generations:

1. Children's opinions and wishes are more respected today.
2. Affection between parents and children is more frequently expressed.
3. Today's families are smaller and hence each child gets more attention.
4. Parents have a higher economic level, hence children today have more money and also more material things.
5. Discipline of children is less rigid and more understanding.
6. Children today have fewer routine chores and regular responsibilities.
7. Entertainment and recreation is less restricted.
8. Parents have a higher educational level.

Forces That Are Pulling the Family Apart

Referring again to my marriage and family classes this spring, at the conclusion of the course each of the 150 students was asked to make a list of the forces which he felt were pulling his family apart and another list of the cohesive forces that were holding his family together. We then pooled the ideas of the students and after several class sessions came up with the following summary lists. It should be remembered that these conclusions reflect the attitudes of Mennonite young people who for the most part have been raised in families with strong religious teaching and partici-

pation in religious activity. Both Christian and non-Christian families are subjected to the same environmental influences. It is hoped that the creative forces of the Christian faith will be able to withstand the corroding influences of secular social changes and the pulverizing effects of secular environments.

1. Over activity—individually and collectively the family of today is so flooded with constant activity that it allows little time for private reflection, creative conversation and the mere being together of family members so that really deep attachments can be formed for each other. Not only do family members no longer work together at common tasks in earning a livelihood, they spend few leisure hours together as a family, playing, hobbying, talking. Even those who engage in family devotions do so with a sense of pressure for time.

2. The contemporary emphasis on individual independence and freedom to the point where personal interests tend to be recognized at the expense of total family interests. Each member of the modern family tends to go his own way regardless of what happens to the unity and stability of the family.

3. The failure of the modern family to adjust to the new conditions brought about by technological changes in the home. Labor saving devices have eliminated much drudgery of domestic chores and added leisure time but this new time is seldom used to produce the same rich qualities of family living that sharing in the common tasks of an earlier day tended to produce.

4. Modern mobility induces family separations both geographically and sociologically. It is today common for members of a single family to be scattered over three, four, or five states. This means that both the immediate and the larger family clans are broken up within a single generation. Grandchildren do not know their grandparents and cousins do not know their cousins. As Ezekiel says: "They are cut off from their parts."

5. Emphasis on, and recognition of, the forces of competition both in the sense of rivalry for status between families in a community and in the sense of striving between individual members of a family tends to cause dissatisfaction, then envy and finally conflict.

6. Prosperous economic conditions make jobs and hence money readily available and this leads easily to the cultivation of acquisitiveness and the desire for material accumulations and creaturely comforts at the expense of the more enduring spiritual and intellectual values.

7. The increasingly accepted practice of the wife and mother working outside the home tends to result in neglect of those maternal services which we have come to associate with duties of motherhood. It inevitably results in either neglect, hiring a substitute, or farming out the work to commercial agenices. In any case it creates a social and spiritual vacuum in the home for six, eight, or ten hours a day.

8. The process of urbanization tends to affect the family negatively. The high price of space is inimical to family life; the excessive stimulation of numerous anti-Christian values; the

characteristic of anonymity is a threat to primary group values and multiplicity of attractions is a strong contributor to fragmenting the unity of the family.

9. The work schedule of modern industry and business requires conflicting time schedules for family members. This plus the school schedules and the social activities and clubs without any effort at co-ordination and unity places most families on a perpetual swing shift and is indeed a barrier to common family life. Not even eating can any longer be a sacred family experience in many families.

In this list of the forces pulling the family apart, Mennonite college students representing over twenty states and four provinces reveal how identical are the forces operating in Mennonite homes with those operating in the homes of Americans and Canadians generally.

Cohesive Forces That Are Holding the Family Together

While it is undeniably true that the modern family is in trouble, it is being threatened by a multiplicity of rapid changes, both technogolical and ideational. But all is not dark and hopeless. There are two schools of thought among social scientists who give consideration to the institution of the family. One school or philosophy contends that the family is on the way out; the other that the family is merely undergoing changes necessary to meet the demands of the new day. The latter school might be likened to the giant automobile industry which every so often has to slow down production in order to retool and prepare for production of new models. I tend to find myself in the school of thought that contends the present crises in family life are challenges that call for modifications in the old patterns and adjustments in old philosophies of family life.

Herewith is the list of cohesive forces which 150 Mennonite college students felt were helpful in strengthening family life:

1. The importance of developing common interests and objectives among family members and the means of constantly cultivating these interests and objectives.
2. The observance of regular family devotions and exploring creative ways in which to get all family members regardless of age to participate in them.
3. The performance of the primary family functions of reproduction, socialization and protection. That is to have children that are wanted and loved and properly nurtured.
4. The development of mature attitudes of husband and wife toward each other and toward their children; that is, mutual respect for personality, individuality, originality.
5. Acceptance of parental responsibility for teaching children respect for other people and for property and discipline in love.
6. Development of family counselling techniques in such matters as defining objectives, discussing interests, and solving problems.

7. Enriching family life experiences by consciously planning the wise use of leisure time by arranging total family play, hobby, and travel experiences rather than individualized activity.

8. The ability of parents to understand natural growth and development of children and thus providing understanding and guidance during the various stages of childhood rather than constant frustration and conflict.

9. Financial income adequate to sustain the family on a level approximating the average in any particular community.

10. Relative equality of educational achievement of husband and wife as a basis for good companionship and social interests.

The foregoing analysis of long time social trends and the lists of disintegrating and the integrating forces that play upon the contemporary family may be helpful but mere recognition of these forces is not enough to save the family or to strengthen it. We must rather ask ourselves a fundamental question of value. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF MARRIAGE? Is it primarily a source of satisfaction to the marriage mates? Is it an obligation to society? Is it man's moral duty to marry and reproduce in order to repay those who gave him life and nurture? Is it an obligation imposed upon man by God? The answer to these basic questions will determine what we seek when we marry; what we expect to receive from marriage; what we expect to give through marriage; to whom we expect to give it. Is it to our mates? To society? To God?

There is no doubt in our minds about the fundamental purpose of marriage. It is a divinely ordained institution; it is God's plan for man, so we say. But is it really so? Is our decision to marry or not to marry, or to marry, let us say A, rather than B, prompted by considerations other than serving God or society?

As I observe and counsel with our Mennonite young people I believe I would have to say in honesty that the reasons for marriage and personal conduct before and after marriage on the part of the couples seems to indicate that marriages are made, maintained, and broken by far more mundane considerations than to do the will of God. Despite the broad moral or ethical pronouncements which the culture of our people holds up as noble and worthy, there is a tacit understanding that most of the time our people are really thinking of something else and being guided by less divinely oriented values such as being in love, wanting to "settle down," wanting to legitimize sex relationships, and in general wanting to acquire the socially approved status of "being married." So, too, in the matter of having children, parents today tend to decide the matter on rational grounds rather than on the grounds of divine guidance. The same can be said in most marriages that end in divorce. I agree with John Cuber[2] in what he

says about the difference between the real and the ascribed motives that people give for their behavior in marriage.

"While it would be impossible to document the conclusion with formal empiric researches, it seems justifiable to conclude that increasingly and perhaps in a majority of cases, the basic values involved in marriage, children and divorce center in the personality needs and desires of the person involved, and not in broad moral obligations pertaining to these things."

What I am saying here is that much of our Mennonite family life is motivated by purely personal rationalistic considerations and is not spiritually oriented at all. What is bad about it all is that so many of us half pretend and half feel that we really are God-centered in our family life. This impression may come from comparing our family life with that of families around us which are even more secularized. We must stop kidding ourselves that modern Mennonite family life is deeply grounded religiously and get down to the serious job of getting our spiritual house in order. An illustration of the non-religious attitude toward marriage and the family is reflected in humor. From the time adolescents begin to be attracted toward members of the opposite sex we begin to make fun of them. All during the days of courtship this continues, and on through honeymoon days and married life comments are anything but reverent. On the contrary they reflect vulgarity rather than sacredness.

May I propose that nothing less than the combined forces of the three basic institutions of home, church, and school are necessary to define a philosophy and develop a pattern of Christian family life that will preserve and enrich our noble heritage. It requires nothing less than the intelligent cooperation of three institutions with all their resources to make appreciable progress toward this goal. The campaign to restore a strong Christian character to family life must be waged on many fronts, but it seems to me that the time is ripe and the need urgent for an inter-Mennonite study conference to be organized on "The Christian Family." It should be an extended study conference with very careful advance preparation. In such a conference a maximum of time should be devoted to defining Christian values and goals as they apply to contemporary family life. Equally important to that of defining values would be that of suggesting ways in which the values might be implemented through the institutions of home, church, school and community.

In this way we might begin to define and discover areas of responsibility. We might conclude that the church is quite hazy in its conception of what the family is and ought to be and that we should launch new programs of education in the church to strengthen family life. We might agree that some of our public school

activities and derivitive influences were running directly counter to ideals taught in Christian homes. We might find that completely new techniques would have to be devised to get the desired results in family living.

Whether through such a proposed study conference, or through the writing of books and papers, or agitating through speeches, sermons, classroom discussion or any other method the family is sorely in need of help. We should direct our attention to the question of the role of the Christian woman in our communities. The great dilemma of the modern woman is whether to choose and prepare for a career and neglect certain maternal and wifely functions which by nature, inclination and tradition are assoicated with her, or whether to devote herself fully to the vocation of homemaking and neglect the opportunities for work outside the home, or can she do both? The modern woman's dilemma is cleverly stated by the wit who defined a woman's career as "something which every woman prepares for but hopes never to have." What needs to be done is to seek together an answer to this problem of role confusion of the Christian woman.

Our children, too, need help in their schools and play groups to understand the meaning of nonconformist practices and how to uphold them in the face of members of their own peer groups who do not hold similar ideals and have little appreciation for those who differ from widely accepted norms. What can we do to help our children not to smoke, drink, dance, engage in pre-marital sex relations, and not to volunteer for military service when these are increasingly common practices of public high school children? In the long run, individual family instruction and practice is not going to be strong enough to control the social behavior of our children. Here the church, the school, and the community, wherever possible must work together.

Finally all of us as family members need help in defining Christian values in the economic realm. Among sincere Christians everywhere there is a great longing for guidance in the matter of getting and spending money and the things money will buy. As Mennonites we would do a great service to ourselves and to others if we could draw up some principles of Christian simplicity as applied to our daily life. We ourselves might be better and happier stewards and we could certainly teach our children more wisely if we could operate along lines of agreed upon principles. It is well to remember that we grow in the direction of our ideals.

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[1]Howard Good, "A Study in Mennonite Family Trends in Elkhart County, Indiana" and I. G. Neufeld, "The Life Cycle of Mennonite Families in Marion County, Kansas" *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Proceedings.* 1947, pp. 41-57.

[2]John F. Cuber, *Sociology,* New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. 1947. p. 399f.

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